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AL-GHAZĀLĪ ON POVERTY & ABSTINENCE

Kitāb al-faqr wa'l-zuhd

BOOK XXXIV of THE REVIVAL OF THE RELIGIOUS SCIENCES

Iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn · translated with INTRODUCTION and Notes by ANTHONY F. SHAKER

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To the memory of my mother
Marcelle Hage

Al-Ghazālī's Introduction to the *Revival of the Religious Sciences*

The importance of Imam Ghazālī's Introduction to the Revival of the Religious Sciences *cannot be overstated; it outlines the reasons and motives for the writing of the* Revival *and it explains the structure of the work as a whole. The Islamic Texts Society has decided to include this Introduction at the beginning of all its translations from the* Revival, *including in revised editions of earlier translations. In the list of the forty chapters below, the choice of translation for the titles of the not-yet-published chapters is not restrictive; the final translations will be left to the individual translators and the list below will be periodically updated with the latest chapter headings.*

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

FIRSTLY, I PRAISE GOD with many continuous praises; though the praise of those who praise is meagre in front of what is due to His majesty.

Secondly, I invoke blessings and peace upon His Messenger—blessings that encompass along with the leader of mankind (*sayyid al-bashar*)[A] all other prophets.

Thirdly, I ask for His guidance (Gloried and Exalted is He) as I resolve to write a book for the revival of the religious sciences.

Fourthly, I hasten to put a stop to your censure O critic who—among those who reject [what we say]—has gone to extremes in his criticism, and who—among those who deny [us] and are heedless—is immoderate in his chiding and rejection.[B]

My tongue has been set loose, and the responsibility to speak out and to discourse has become incumbent on me due to your

[A] The Prophet Muhammad.

[B] It is not clear if Ghazālī had a particular person in mind when he penned this very severe and direct criticism here and below. Its personal nature does suggest that he did have someone in mind, but he could equally have used this form as a general accusation against a specific group.

persistent blindness to the obvious truth, your obstinacy in backing falsehood and in embellishing ignorance, and your stirring up hostility against him who has given preference to stepping somewhat aside from social conventions and who has verged slightly from formality. [He does this] for the sake of acting according to the dictates of knowledge and in eagerness to gain what God (Great and Glorious is He) has commanded in purifying the soul and rectifying the heart, thus somewhat redeeming a life wasted and in the hope of escaping complete rack and ruin. Hence, he seeks to avoid the risk of being associated with those about whom the Law giver (may God bless him and grant him peace) has said, 'The one who will be most severely punished on the Day of Judgement is he who was granted knowledge (*ʿālim*)[A] and whom God (glory be to Him) did not make benefit from his knowledge.'[B]

By my life, there is no reason for the persistence of your opposition except for the malady that has encompassed the vast majority—indeed the multitudes. [The malady of] the inability to discern the weight of the matter, the ignorance of how grave the situation is and how crucial the issue, that the Hereafter is approaching and that this life is departing, that the end of life is near and the journey still far, that the provision is scanty and the danger immense, that the way is blocked, that for the discerning critic the knowledge and the acts that are purely for God are what avail, and that to pursue the path of the Hereafter—with all its many dangers and without a guide or companion—is exhausting and arduous.

The guides of the way are those who possess knowledge (*ʿulamāʾ*), who are the heirs of the prophets.[C] This age is devoid of them and those who remain are impersonators; most have been overpowered by the devil and been led astray by iniquity.

[A] The term *ʿālim* (pl. *ʿulamāʾ*) has been translated both as 'he who has been granted or who possesses knowledge' and as 'scholar' according to the context.

[B] Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-ṣaghīr*, 1.182.

[C] ʿIrāqī, 1.6 says this is in Abū Dāʾūd, Tirmidhī, Ibn Māja and in *Ṣaḥīḥ* Ibn Hibbān on the authority of Abū al-Dardāʾ.

Each one is engrossed with his earthly gain; he sees what is right objectionable and what is objectionable right; thus the banner of religion has been pulled down and the beacon of guidance all over the world is extinguished.

[These impersonators] deceive people into thinking that knowledge is only decrees of the state (*fatāwā ḥukūma*) that judges use in order to resolve disputes when there is disturbance by the rabble, or a form of debating which a person seeking to show off equips himself with in order to gain superiority and the upper hand, or ornate language which a preacher uses to lure in the common people. These three [means] are all they could find to snare illegal gain and to net the vanities [of the world].

Now the knowledge of the path to the Hereafter (*ʿilm ṭarīq al-ākhira*)—which was followed by the pious predecessors and which was called by God (Glorified is He) in His Book: law (*fiqh*), wisdom (*ḥikma*), knowledge (*ʿilm*), luminescence (*ḍiyāʾ*), light (*nūr*), guidance (*hidāya*), right-direction (*rushd*)—has become among people a thing hidden and forgotten.

As this [situation] is a calamitous fissure in religion and as the times are dark, I concluded that it is crucial to undertake the composition of this book in order to revive the religious sciences, to seek out the methods of the previous leaders [of religion], and to clarify what the prophets and the pious predecessors considered beneficial knowledge (may God grant them all peace).

I divided it into four quarters: the Quarter of the Acts of Worship (*rubʿ al-ʿibādāt*), the Quarter of the Norms of Daily Life (*rubʿ al-ʿādāt*), the Quarter of the Moral Vices (*rubʿ al-muhlikāt*) and the Quarter of the Saving Virtues (*rubʿ al-munjiyāt*).

I began the whole [of the work] with 'The Book of Knowledge'[A] (*Kitāb al-ʿilm*) because [knowledge] is of the utmost importance. Firstly, I reveal the knowledge that God (Great and Glorious is He) ordered the elite (*aʿyān*) to seek in the words of His Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) when he said,

[A] We have retained Book for the titles of the chapters of the *Revival*.

'Seeking knowledge is a legal obligation (*farīda*) for every Muslim';[A] then, I differentiate [in the book] between knowledge that is beneficial and [knowledge] that is harmful, for may God bless him and grant him peace said, 'We seek refuge in You from knowledge that does not benefit';[B] and I illustrate how far the people of this age have departed from right conduct, and how deceived they are by glossy illusions[C] and by their contentment with the husk rather than the kernel of knowledge.

The Quarter of the Acts of Worship is made up of ten Books:

1 The Book of Knowledge
2 The Book of the Foundations of the Articles of Faith
3 The Book of the Mysteries of Purity
4 The Book of the Mysteries of the Prayer
5 The Book of the Mysteries of Almsgiving
6 The Book of the Mysteries of Fasting
7 The Book of the Mysteries of the Pilgrimage
8 The Book of Ways of Reciting the Qur'ān
9 The Book of Invocations and Supplications
10 The Book of Classification of Litanies and the Division of the Night Vigil

The Quarter of the Norms of Daily Life is made up of ten Books:

11 The Book of the Manners Relating to Eating
12 The Book of Conduct in Marriage
13 The Book of Ways of Earning and Making a Living
14 The Book of the Lawful and the Unlawful
15 The Book of Ways of Friendship, Brotherhood and Companionship
16 The Book of Conduct in Seclusion
17 The Book of Conduct in Travel
18 The Book of Conduct in Audition and Ecstasy

[A] Ibn Mājā 224.
[B] Muslim 2722.
[C] Lit. 'mirage' (*sarāb*).

19 The Book of Enjoining the Good and Prohibiting Evil
20 The Book of Conduct in Living and the Qualities of Prophethood

The Quarter of the Moral Vices is made up of ten Books:

21 The Book of Expounding the Wonders of the Heart
22 The Book of Disciplining the Soul
23 The Book of Breaking the Two Desires
24 The Book of the Vices of the Tongue
25 The Book of Condemnation of Anger, Rancour and Envy
26 The Book of Condemnation of the World
27 The Book of Condemnation of Avarice and Love of Wealth
28 The Book of Condemnation of Status and Ostentation
29 The Book of Condemnation of Pride and Self-Admiration
30 The Book of Condemnation of Self-delusion

The Quarter of the Saving Virtues is made up of ten Books:

31 The Book of Repentance
32 The Book of Patience and Thankfulness
33 The Book of Fear and Hope
34 The Book of Poverty and Abstinence
35 The Book of Divine Unity and Reliance upon Him
36 The Book of Love, Longing, Intimacy and Contentment
37 The Book of Intention, Sincerity and Truthfulness
38 The Book of Vigilance and Self-examination
39 The Book of Reflection
40 The Book of the Remembrance of Death and the Afterlife

As to the Quarter of the Acts of Worship, I mention in it the mysteries of their conduct, the subtleties of their ways, the secrets of their meanings and what the practicing scholar (*al-ʿālim al-ʿāmil*) cannot do without; he would not be among the scholars of the Hereafter if he were not versed in these. Much of this has been neglected in the studies of jurisprudence.

In the Quarter of the Norms of Daily Life, I discuss the secrets of the [various] relations that take place between people (*muʿāmalāt*),[A] their deeper meanings, the subtleties of their ways, and the mysteries of the piety (*wara*ʿ) that should run through them. [All] these are what no religious person (*mutadayyin*) can do without.

In the Quarter of the Moral Vices, I list every reprehensible character trait (*khuluq madhmūm*) that the Qurʾān commanded to be uprooted, and the soul to be cleansed and the heart to be purified thereof. I include for each of these character traits its definition (*ḥadd*) and its reality (*ḥaqīqa*), then the cause from which it derives, the evils that result from it, the signs by which it can be recognised and the different remedies that can be used to eliminate it.

Accompanying all this are proofs from Qurʾānic verses, Prophetic reports (*akhbār*) and narratives (*āthār*).

As to the Quarter of the Saving Virtues, I mention every laudable character trait and every desirable quality of those near [to God] (*muqarrabūn*) and of the righteous (*siddīqūn*) through which the servant can gain proximity to the Lord of the worlds. For every quality I give its definition and its reality, the means by which it can be attained, the fruits that are derived from it, the signs by which it can be recognised, the merits which make it desirable and the ways that it has been affirmed by the Law (*sharʿ*) and by the intellect (*ʿaql*).

Other titles have been written about some of these topics,[B] but this [present] work is distinguished from them in five ways:

Firstly, it clarifies what is complicated in them and elucidates what they have mentioned in passing.

Secondly, it organises what is scattered in them and systematises what is disparate in them.

[A] The plural *muʿāmalāt* (sing. *muʿāmala*) does not have the same meaning as *ʿilm al-muʿāmala* below and therefore they have been translated differently according to Ghazālī's intention for each.

[B] In writing the *Revival*, Ghazālī was fully aware of the religious literature of his time and, in the *Revival*, he both draws on a number of titles (for example, Makkī's *Qūt al-qulūb*) and takes this literature a step further.

Thirdly, it summarises what they have overly discussed and gives precision to what they have affirmed.

Fourthly, it deletes what they have repeated and corroborates what they have formulated.

Fifthly, it clarifies ambiguous matters that are difficult to understand and that have never even been the subject of books. For though all [who write] may follow a single method, this does not preclude each one who pursues [this method] from paying special attention to a matter that concerns him and which his colleagues may not know about, or may be aware of it but overlooked it in writing, or may not have overlooked it but something caused them to turn away from it.

While it includes all the [above mentioned] sciences, these are the [five] specific attributes of this work.

Two things prompted me to compose this book in four quarters. The first and primary motive is that this arrangement is indispensable when researching and elaborating [on a subject], given that the knowledge by which we approach the Hereafter is divided into 'the knowledge of contingent actions' (*ʿilm al-muʿāmala*)[A] and 'direct knowledge' (*ʿilm al-mukāshafa*).[B]

By direct knowledge, I mean [the knowledge] whose only requirement is to reveal the object of knowledge (*maʿlūm*) and nothing else.

By the knowledge of contingent actions, I mean [the knowl-

[A] *Muʿāmala* (pl. *muʿāmalāt*) is usually translated as 'transaction', 'procedure', 'treatment'. But for Ghazālī, there is a return to the root of the term in *ʿamala*, 'to act'. In translating *ʿilm al-muʿāmala* as 'the knowledge of contingent actions', we have taken both Ghazālī's own definition and the root of the term into consideration.

[B] In Sufism, *mukāshafa* is a technical term meaning 'unveiling' and 'direct or experiential knowledge'; it is linked with *dhawq* 'tasting'. The term has been translated as 'revelation' (Nabih Amin Faris, *The Book of Knowledge*, p. xiv), but it is clear from Ghazālī's definition that it is not revelation as *waḥy*, but is direct spiritual knowledge of immutable truths.

edge] of the actions that necessarily accompany direct knowledge.[A]

The aim of this book is exclusively the knowledge of contingent actions and not direct knowledge which—despite it being the goal of those who seek and the aspiration for the vision of the righteous—is beyond being documented in books. The knowledge of contingent actions is a means to it. The prophets (may God bless them and grant them peace) only spoke to people about the knowledge of the path (*ʿilm al-ṭarīq*) and about guidance to it. As to direct knowledge, they only mentioned it through symbol and allusion, and by way of comparison and in a general fashion, knowing that people's understanding falls short of comprehending it. Now, those who possess knowledge are the heirs of the prophets and thus they cannot verge from the method of emulating and imitating [the prophets].

Knowledge of contingent actions is divided into outer knowledge (*ʿilm ẓāhir*), by which I mean the knowledge of the actions for bodily parts; and inner knowledge (*ʿilm bāṭin*), by which I mean the knowledge of the actions of the heart.

What applies to the bodily parts is either worship (*ʿibāda*) or norms of daily life (*ʿāda*).[B]

What occurs in the heart—which by dint of being veiled from the senses is part of the heavenly realm (*malakūt*)—is either commendable (*maḥmūd*) or reprehensible (*madhmūm*).[C]

[A] It should not be understood from this very concise definition that Ghazālī intends each individual to act exclusively on his or her own direct knowledge. The actions referred to here are those derived from the Qur'ān, the *Sunna* of the Prophet and the example of the pious predecessors and the saints; thus actions based in revelation and in the direct knowledge of the Prophet and the saintly. Each of the chapters of the *Revival* invariably starts with reference to Qur'anic verses, the traditions of the Prophet and the narratives of the Companions and the saints, making them the example to be followed.

[B] Elaborated in the Quarter of Acts of Worship and the Quarter of Norms of Daily Life.

[C] Elaborated in the Quarter of the Moral Vices and the Quarter of the Saving Virtues.

Thus, this knowledge [of contingent actions] by necessity divides into two halves: outer and inner. The outer half, which is connected to the bodily parts, is itself divided into worship and norms of daily life; while the inner half, which is connected to the states of the heart and the attributes of the soul, is divided into either what is reprehensible or what is commendable. Therefore, the result is four parts and no examination of the knowledge of contingent actions can go beyond these divisions.

The secondary motive [for composing this book]: I have found that—[despite jurisprudence] being exploited by those who do not fear God to boast, and their making use of its prestige and standing in competing [with each other]—there is a genuine desire for knowledge on behalf of the students of jurisprudence. [Thus, in imitation of the works of jurisprudence,] it is divided into four quarters; for he who takes on the garb of the beloved becomes beloved. I believe that styling the book in the form of [books of] jurisprudence will gently lead hearts [to it]. This was the reason why one of those who wanted to draw the attention of persons in authority to [the science of] medicine structured it in the form of an astrological almanac, arranged it into tables and numbers, and called it 'The Almanac of Health', that their familiarity with this kind [of science] may draw them to reading [his title].

Gently leading hearts to the knowledge that benefits everlasting life is more important than leading them to medicine that only benefits the health of the body. The fruit of this knowledge is the health of hearts and souls and the arrival through it to life that never ends. How can the medicine that is used to heal bodies, necessarily destined before long to corruption, compare with this!

We ask God (glory be to Him) guidance to what is right and just, for He is the Generous, the Munificent.

INTRODUCTION

In the *Book of Poverty and Abstinence*, the thirteenth chapter in *Iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn*, Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (450/505-1058/1111) takes up in separate sections two related themes. Most authoritative collections of prophetic traditions do not neatly distinguish between poverty and abstinence. In practice, they were so closely intertwined that merely to love 'poverty', the ostensive attribute of the poor, was held up as a sign of abstinence.[1] This attitude is traceable to the Prophet Muḥammad's words exhorting the faithful to love the poor and describing this love as their key to Heaven.[2] The recorded tradition adds to this exhortation a pledge to the poor that they shall enter paradise before the rich 'by five hundred years'.[3]

In short, poverty, and the predilection for humility upon which it rests, enjoyed the full and ardent sanction of the Prophet. Given the veneration with which his *Sunna* was approached, it is not surprising that 'poverty' should be extolled to the degree it was.[4] The life of poverty and abstinence refers back to what every devoted follower of the Prophet seeks to adopt.

Nature of Poverty

From the beginning of Islam, *faqr* (poverty) was assiduously cultivated by the humble and the highborn, the lame and the sound of body—all sought the benedictions of true poverty. Yet, the adepts of *zuhd* (abstinence) likened the quest for poverty to a species of pride no less baneful than the vanity of the profligate rich. This is why Ghazālī makes it clear that the true source of the quest is not outward contrariness with the world, but 'indifference' to worldly allures. Far from an accidental state of destitution that

might befall a person, 'true poverty' is—to put it more precisely—a disciplined approach to life from an internal centre of gravity, irrespective of how much 'of the world' one happens to earn, receive or lose.

He explains that those who are 'poor' are divided into: those utterly repelled by the prospect of material gain; those satisfied with God's decree; those content with what little they owned but had no aversion for wealth; those desirous but incapable of acquisition; those who hunger for wealth.[5] The highest degree of poverty consists of those poor who are completely indifferent to material gain or loss.

The word poverty is semantically close to 'indigence'.[6] The Prophet spoke positively of the indigent person, or *miskin*, 'as someone who owns nothing of what [might] enrich him and who is ashamed to beg'—ashamed, that is, before God not people.[7] This was how the poor were expected to behave. Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj (d. 988) defined three proprieties to which all sincere *fuqarā'*, or poor, had to adhere: they did not ask when in need, they did not refuse when given and they were not bound by anything after acceptance.[8]

In the present work, Ghazālī considers these three proprieties, since they imply the opposite of dependence, which 'poverty' also means in relation to people and, in a different sense, to God. He does so in the light of what was said by such varied exemplars of piety as Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Sufyān al-Thawrī, Dhū al-Nūn al-Miṣrī, Mālik b. Dīnār, Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī, Ibn Abī al-Ḥawārī and Sahl b.ʿAbd Allāh al-Tustarī. To all, poverty practised for spiritual benefit differed radically from indigence in the ordinary sense, which can border on 'beggary'.[9] It had to lead, in other words, not to dependence on others but to reliance on God. Never synonymous with beggary, it indicated inner wealth.[10] Freely chosen or not, beggary was demeaning, and its worst form was begging for personal profit, which Ghazālī here defines as requesting aid while already in possession of some modicum property or money.

The opposite of *faqr* is *ghinā*, which is one of God's attri-

butes, and Ghazālī devotes an entire chapter to the burning issue of whether it is better for human beings to have 'wealth' or to be 'poor'. He presents arguments for both and concludes that the key to sincere poverty is the acceptance of the Divine decree and the absence of all resentment or rejection with respect to one's state. This is not a quiescent view, if one recalls that poverty was not valued for itself but for the other, greater 'wealth' it brings without the asking, not to mention the Prophet Muḥammad's counsel—noted by Ghazālī—to people to behold those who are lower than them, not those above them.[11]

Nature of Abstinence

Zuhd (abstinence), the theme of the second part of this work, has a semantic range comparable to that of poverty. A good German equivalent of *zuhd* is *Weltverzichtes*,[12] which has the advantage of specifying 'world' as the relevant object from which one abstains. The expression *al-zuhd fi'l-dunyā* (abstinence from the world) was widely used not only by writers in this genre, but also by the lexicographers. The object is understood because abstinence was abstinence from the 'world' and from the 'things of this world'.[13]

To clarify how the *object* of abstinence imparted the real and intended meaning, Ghazālī faithfully illustrates the word's usage in the Qur'ān and builds on themes broached earlier in the *Book of Condemnation of the World*.[14] In that book, he established that the world was primarily composed of existent entities, or *aʿyān mawjūda*—namely, the individual things that populate what appears to human beings. One such thing is the Earth of which man is said to have his just portion.[15] In the 'world' dwells also the human desire for those things.

Is one, then, to forgo all the things of this world?

Not all existent things were condemnable, and some things were ruled licit. Ghazālī is clear in that abstinence should not mean abstaining from what is already prohibited, but from what is licit and attainable by the person. His point is important because to abstain from what cannot be attained is to forgo very little, in real-

ity. Not everything was reducible to legal strictures. He brings to light a crucial but hidden dimension of abstinence: the avoidance of *excess*.[16] Something may be legitimately enjoyed in this world but still pose a mortal danger; otherwise it would be permissible to consume without limit.

More important still to Ghazālī, worldly attachments separate human beings from the Hereafter. He argues that the two terms—the world and the Hereafter—refer to alternate 'states' of the human heart; the 'nearer' and lower state is the world, the farther is the Hereafter beyond death.[17] 'World' signifies the low moral state of the heart immersed in its worldly desire for what *only appears* nearest, since God is closer to the person than his or her 'jugular vein'. Hence, the goal of abstinence is to turn the heart away from the world that distances one from God and towards the Hereafter. Higher than this is the degree of abstinence where one turns away from both the world *and* the Hereafter for the sake of proximity to God alone.

Ultimately, it is the world appearing in all its habitual forms beside God that makes it condemnable. For Ghazālī, 'A person absorbed in his aversion for the world is as inattentive to God as the one absorbed by the love for it.'[18]

While Ghazālī expounds 'poverty' and 'abstinence' in the light of the literature on these subjects and his own personal journey, his deep insights into a burgeoning tradition of exoteric learning are also in evidence. That the foundations of this learning—comprising the main branches of knowledge we take for granted today—were simultaneously being laid for an entire civilization and historical period is not accidental. For, the seemingly paradoxical relation between what is interior and what is exterior to man revealed by this fact lies at the core of Ghazālī's concern with human existence in the world.

Sources

For my translation, I used mainly two manuscripts, the textual variations of which I recorded in my endnotes. These two manuscripts are lettered A and B in the notes as follows: A (Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid *Iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn*. Cairo: Lajnat Nashr al-Thaqāfa al-Islāmiyya, 1357 AH. [With al-Ḥāfiz, al-ʿIrāqī's commentary]); B (Al-Zabīdī, al-Sayyid Muḥammad [Murtaḍā] b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī. *Itḥāf al-sādat al-muttaqīn bi-sharh Iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn*. Cairo: Dār al-Fikr, n.d.).

Finally, the quotations from the Qur'ān are mostly my translations; in places, they display emphases for clearer understanding of the context of Ghazālī's arguments, but I have also made certain use of the Yusuf Ali's translation.

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To my wife Françoise Deschênes, no words in the 'world' can properly express my gratitude for her constant presence and sagacity.

Finally, I have fond memories trying to decipher more than a few of the obscure terms and expressions in the Arabic text with my father, who departed from this world before seeing this publication.

Note to Introduction

1 Ibn ʿArabī, *La vie merveilleuse de Dhû-l-Nûn l'Egyptien* 117.
2 Qushayrī, *Risāla* 210.
3 Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, *K. al-zuhd*, 1380, no. 4122; cf. Tirmidhī, *Sunan* IV.24, *Abwāb al-zuhd*, 8, no. 2457-58; Qurayshī, *Risāla* 209.
4 A lengthy remark on poverty is found in Zabīdī's commentary on the *Ihyā'* (*Ithāf* 313-7).
5 *Ihyā'* XIII, *K. al-faqr wa'l-zuhd*, 64.
6 *Lisān al-ʿArab* V.60.
7 Qushayrī, *Risāla* 209-10.
8 Sarrāj, *al-Lumaʿ* 231.
9 The 'affliction of poverty' was thought to be a sign of Divine presence, and the 'joy of wealth' to be one of absence (Hujwīrī, *Somme Spirituelle* 53).
10 'Wealth is not abundance of goods but richness of spirit.' Bukhārī, *Sahih* VIII, *K. al-riqāq*, 171, no. 33; Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, *K. al-zuhd*, 1386, no. 4137; Tirmidhī, *Sunan* IV.27, 15, no. 2479.
11 Recorded in Muslim, *Sahih* IV, *K. al-zuhd wa'l-raqā'iq*, 581, no. 2963.
12 Van Ess, *Die Gedankenwelt des Hārith* (Bonn: Rheingold-Druckerei, Mainz, 1961) 105-7. Mystics like Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī, whom Ghazālī often quotes, held that *sūf* was only one of the abstainer's fields of knowledge (Qushayrī, *Risāla* 94; cf. Muhāsibī 238-41).
13 *Lisān al-ʿArab* III.196.
14 ʿIrāqī 62.
15 *Ihyā'* IX, *K. dhamm al-dunyā*, 194.
16 *Ihyā'* XIII, *K. al-faqr wal-zuhd*, 127.
17 *Ihyā'* IX, *K. dhamm al-dunyā*, 185.
18 *Ihyā'* XIII, *K. al-faqr wal-zuhd*, 66.

THE BOOK OF POVERTY AND ABSTINENCE

Being the Fourth Book of the Quarter of the Saving Virtues

[PROLOGUE]

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

PRAISE BE TO GOD, whom every grain of sand extols, before whom every shadow lies prostrate and from whose awe mountains crumble. He created man from clay, sodden or dry, and finely set his form for adornment in perfect proportion. He protected man's heart with the light of guidance against the mires of error and permitted him to beat at the door of servanthood, sunrise and sunset. The vision of one who is sincere in His service is tinctured by the light of admonition, whose brilliance apprises him of Majesty's presence. His is the felicity of splendour and magnificence and perfection, so long as he disdains every comeliness and beauty save the sources of his illumination, and deems burdensome all that detracts from his sight and pursuit.

Man sees the world's exterior in the form of a beautiful woman ambling and swaggering along. Her interior reveals itself as aged disfigurements kneaded from the thickened mud of shame and moulded into condign punishment. Wrapped in her robe, she conceals her ignominious secrets through wily charm and artifice.

She lays her snares in the paths of men,[A] angling them through cunning and ruin. But then, never content with their moments of encounter, she bridles them with shackles and chains upon the reunion, and burdens them with all manner of trial and fetters. Once those cognisant [of the inner meaning of things] (*ʿārifūn*) discover her ignominious secrets and deeds, they renounce her with aversion. Abandoning her, they abandon vainglory and the amassing of wealth. With deepest resolve, they turn to the Presence of Majesty, trusting in a reunion that knows no separation, in a vision of eternity that has no evanescence or extinction.

And so, we bless our Prophet Muḥammad, leader of all the prophets, and his Household the best of households.

Now, the world is an enemy of God Exalted. By its illusions shall the errant be misled. By its cunning shall those who err commit their error. Yea, love of the world is the fountainhead of fault and sin; and aversion to it is the mother of pious deeds and the foundation of acts pleasing to God.

In our *Book of Condemnation of the World*,[B] which falls in the Quarter of Ruinous Vices (*muhlikāt*),[C] we expatiated on matters pertaining to the description of the world and on the condemnation of love for it. We shall now discuss the merit of aversion towards the world and renunciation; for it is the fountainhead of all deliverances. Salvation (*najāt*) cannot be expected without disseverance and distancing from the world. Indeed, separation may

[A] Ghazālī uses the word *rijāl* (men, people), instead of the customary *nās* (people) or *insān* (man), for the purpose of this introductory trope. As in the English language, but unlike in the conventional use of the singular *rajul* (a man), *rijāl* is masculine without always denoting biological males. Besides 'man', there is no English equivalent for *insān*, which refers to both men and women understood in Islam as a single essence, which has a basis in the Qurʾān's 'single self' (*nafs wāḥida*) (Q.IV.1, VII.189).

[B] Book XXVI of the *Revival of the Religious Sciences* (*Kitāb dhamm al-dunyā*).

[C] The *muhlikāt* have been translated as 'Mortal Vices' elsewhere in this Ghazālī series.

be secured either by isolating the world from the servant—called 'poverty' (*faqr*)—or by isolating the servant from the world—called 'abstinence' (*zuhd*). Each marks a level of attainable felicity, a portion of [Divine] aid towards success and salvation.

In the present book, we shall discuss the reality of poverty and of abstinence, their degrees (*darajāt*), divisions (*aqsām*), conditions (*shurūṭ*) and precepts (*aḥkām*). Half of the book shall be on poverty and the other on abstinence. We begin with poverty, then, as follows.

PART I

ON POVERTY

This [Part] includes: an exposition of the reality of poverty; a general exposition of the excellence of poverty; an exposition of the particular excellence of the poor;[1] an exposition of poverty's excellence over wealth; an exposition of the propriety[2] of the poor person in his poverty; an exposition of the norms of propriety of the poor person when accepting an offering; an exposition of the forbiddance of unnecessary solicitation; an exposition of the amount of wealth which renders solicitation illicit; and an exposition of the states of those who solicit. And God alone grants success to what is right by His grace and kindness.

CHAPTER ONE

An Exposition of the Reality of Poverty, the Different States of the Poor Person and his Names

KNOW THAT poverty is to lack what one needs. Lacking what is not needed cannot be called poverty. When what is needed exists (*mawjūd*) and is attainable, the person in need is not poor (*faqīr*).[A]

If you understand this, then you will not doubt that everything existing besides God Exalted is poor, because it is dependent on the perpetuity of existence, in the second case [just above];[B] and the perpetuation of its own existence is acquired through God's favour and grace.[1] Were there in existence a being whose existence is not dependent on another, then it would be the 'abso-

[A] This person is not poor because he has the means to attain to what he needs and therefore cannot be called 'poor'.

[B] 'The second case' refers to the second sense just above, where the person is *not* poor thanks to what is present 'in the way of religion'. Everything is still 'poor' before God, in principle, since everything 'existing besides God'—all that exists in His creation—is poor. Therefore, 'perpetuity of existence' is the permanent factor (emanating from the Creator) without which no existent can possess its own particular existence. Ghazālī uses 'existing' also in a sense closer to 'present', as his later example of the beloved's presence makes clear. Existence and presence—a play on words—allow him to distinguish the various senses of poverty, which need not denote exactly the same meaning in every instance.

lutely self-sufficient' (*al-ghaniyy al-mutlaq*). It is inconceivable that there be more than one such being—in existence there is but One Self-Sufficient. All others are dependent on Him for the perpetuation of their existence.[2] Pointing to this restriction are God's words, *And God is the Self-Sufficient, and you are the poor*.[3] This is what absolute poverty (*al-faqr al-mutlaq*) means.

However, our purpose is not an exposition of absolute poverty, but specifically of poverty in money, if only because the poverty of God's servant cannot be delimited in relation to his sundry needs;[4] for his needs are limitless. Among his needs are those which can be filled through money. This, alone, is what we presently want to expound.

We say: everyone lacking money shall be called 'poor' (*faqīr*) in relation to the money he lacks, if the amount lacking is rightly needed. Accordingly, one may conceive of five states of poverty. We shall distinguish them, give each a name, so that—by differentiating them—we can arrive at their precepts (*aḥkām*).

The first and highest is the state [of poverty] where God's servant is repelled and distressed by money, should he gain possession of it. Loathing it, wary of its evil and of becoming preoccupied with it, he flees rather than takes it. This is 'abstinence' (*zuhd*), the person who practises it is an 'abstainer' (*zāhid*).[5]

The second state is when [the impecunious person] does not so desire money that it would bring him special joy were he to obtain it,[6] or repel him to the point of distress, causing him quickly to relinquish it after acquiring it. The person in this state is called 'contented' (*rāḍī*).[7]

The third state is when having money is dearer [to the impecunious person] than not having it, because he desires it. Yet despite this desire, he does not embark on the pursuit of money. Rather, when it willy-nilly comes his way he takes it with delight. But if it requires effort, he will not trouble with it. The person in this state is said to be 'satisfied' (*qāniʿ*)[8]—since, his desire being weak, he satisfies himself with what he has.

The fourth state is [either] when [the impecunious person]

abandons the quest because of his inability; for he desires [money] inasmuch as were he to find the means by which he can attain it—even if it strains him—he would pursue it. Or, when he is busy in its pursuit. A person in this state is said to be 'desirous' (*ḥarīṣ*).[9]

The fifth state is when he is in dire need of the money he lacks—much like the famished who have no bread or the naked who have no clothes. Such a person is said to be 'in dire need' (*muḍṭarr*) whether his desire in the pursuit is strong or weak. Rarely is this state unconnected to desire.

These, then, are five states, the highest of which is abstinence.[10] If dire need (*iḍṭirār*) is joined with abstinence, then this [state]—if possible—makes for the highest degree of abstinence, as we will show.[A]

Beyond these five states is a state higher than abstinence—namely, where the presence and absence of money are of equal value. The presence of money will neither gladden nor distress [God's servant], and likewise, his lack of money. Indeed, his state is similar to that of ʿĀ'isha (may God be pleased with her) upon receiving a gift of one hundred thousand dirhams. She took the sum and distributed it the very same day. Her servant-girl asked her, 'With all that you have distributed today, were you able to purchase for us one dirham's worth of meat that we may break our fast?' She replied, 'I would have done it had you reminded me.'[11]

A person in this state cannot be harmed by the world were he to hold it, with all its treasures, in the palm of his hand. He regards all wealth as lying in the treasury of God, not in his own hand. It matters little to him that he or someone else should possess it. In such a situation, a person is aptly called 'indifferent' (*mustaghnī*), being impartial to the money either gained or lost.

Let us understand from this name[B] a different meaning from that of 'self-sufficient' (*ghaniyy*), which is applied to God and to

[A] That is, in the second half of this book.

[B] That is, 'indifferent' (*mustaghnī*).

those of His servants who have amassed money.[A] Of God's servants, he that gains wealth and rejoices in it has a need to [*faqīr*][B] keep it in his possession. He is 'self-sufficient' (*ghaniyy*) [with respect to] the amassing of wealth but not to its retention. Thus, in one respect, he is 'in need' (*faqir*).

This person [may] also be 'indifferent' to gain, retaining or losing wealth. For he is not distressed [by money] that he needs to divest himself of it; he is not overjoyed by it that he needs to retain it; nor does his lack of it compel him to procure it. 'Indifference' is more his inclination, and it is nearer to the 'self-sufficiency' (*ghinā*) ascribed to God. The servant's nearness (*qurb*) to God, however, is one of attributes not of position.[12]

Despite this, we do not call the person in that state 'self-sufficient' (*ghaniyy*) but 'indifferent' (*mustaghnī*), in order to keep 'self-sufficiency' a name for the One to whom belongs 'absolute self-sufficiency with respect to all things'. This servant is indifferent to both the presence and the absence of money, but not indifferent to certain other things. He is not indifferent to the aid granted him by God Exalted that he may retain the indifference with which God has adorned his heart. For the heart fettered by love of money is a slave, while another, indifferent to money, is free. It is God alone who has released it from this bondage. And [the heart] is in continual need of emancipation. Hearts are wont to shift between bondage and freedom from one moment to the next, because they lie 'between two of the fingers of the All-merciful.'[13] That is why with this perfection

[A] *Ghaniyy* and *ghinā* ('freedom from', 'independence', 'self-sufficiency', 'wealth') derive from the same verb *ghaniya*, meaning to be free of want, indifferent to need, independent, wealthy. The same word *ghaniyy* is applied to God and man, but in different senses, since God cannot be said to be 'wealthy' in the same respect.

[B] Here again, Ghazālī is using the different meanings of the verb *faqara* (to lack, to be poor, needy or dependent). *Faqr* is therefore 'poverty', 'need' or 'dependence'. *Faqīr* is he who is 'poor', 'in need', 'dependent on something or someone'.

the name 'self-sufficient' cannot be applied unconditionally to the servant, but only figuratively.

Know that abstinence is a degree [that denotes] the perfection of the pious (*abrār*).[A] He who possesses this state is among those near [to God] (*muqarrabūn*). Yet, in the case of a pious person [near to God] to whom this state belongs, abstinence becomes an imperfection, since what is merit for the pious can be offence for those near God.[B] The reason is that a person who loathes the world is as absorbed by it as someone who longs for it. And the preoccupation with anything other than God is a veil upon God Exalted, for there is no distance between you and God whereupon 'distance' is a veil, as He is nearer to you *than your jugular vein*.[14] He is not in a place such that the heavens and the earth are a veil between you and Him.[15] The only veil between you and God is your preoccupation with what is other than Him. Your absorption with yourself and with your appetites is a preoccupation with what is other than God; and being ceaselessly absorbed with yourself and your appetites, you will remain veiled from Him. Therefore,[16] just as one who is absorbed in self-love is distracted from Him, so he who is absorbed in self-loathing is equally distracted from Him.

Indeed, everything other than God is like an observer present at a tryst that brings together the lover and the beloved.[17] If the heart of the lover were to turn to the observer in aversion, vexation and antipathy at the latter's presence, then upon[18] being absorbed by aversion it would be diverted from taking delight at the sight of his beloved. Were love to engulf him, he would not heed or attend to anything that is not the beloved. Therefore, in the presence of the beloved, gazing upon other than the

[A] The term *abrār*, which appears several times in the Qur'ān (Q.III.193, III.198, LXXVI.5, LXXXII.13, LXXXIII.18, LXXXIII.22), became part of the spiritual hierarchy of *aqtāb* (poles), the chief pious figures *awtād* (pillars), *nuqabā'* (chiefs), *abdāl* (substitutes), *nujabā'* (nobles), and so on.

[B] This may appear to be a contradiction as the *abrār* are among those near to God. But here it refers to those who are a degree closer to God than the *abrār*.

beloved—[even] out of love—is to have a divided[A] and imperfect love; and equally, gazing upon other than the beloved out of aversion is division and imperfection. Still, the one is less grave than the other. Perfection is when the heart does not heed what is other than the beloved, either through aversion or love. For just as two loves cannot be combined in the heart in a single state, so aversion and love cannot be joined in a single state.

A person absorbed in his aversion for the world is as heedless (*ghāfil*) of God as the one absorbed by love for it, except that the one absorbed by love of it is heedless and, in his heedlessness (*ghaflа*), he takes the path of distance. The one absorbed by aversion to it is heedless and, in his heedlessness, takes the path of nearness, because the hope for him is that his case may lead to the cessation of this heedlessness and be transformed into an act of vision (*shuhūd*). His perfection is anticipated, as aversion for the world is a means to reach God.

Someone who loves and someone who loathes are like two men on their way to the pilgrimage. Each is busy riding his she-camel, giving her provender and directing her; but one has his back turned to the Kaʿba while the other faces towards it. They are similar in their situations, in that neither can see the Kaʿba[B] and is distracted from it [by his preoccupation with his mount]. In relation to the man who has his back turned to it, the case of the one facing it is laudable, for there is hope that he will reach it. Yet, it is not laudable in relation to that of the retreatant (*muʿtakif*) who remains at the Kaʿba and never leaves, and who thus has no need to occupy himself with any mount in order to reach the Kaʿba. Therefore, you must not think that aversion to the world is an end in itself. The world[19] is but an impediment to God; He cannot be reached without the removal of the impediment.

It is for this reason that Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī said, 'He who abstains (*zahada*) from the world and limits himself to this

[A] *Shirk fi al-ʿishq.*

[B] Lit., 'are veiled from the Kaʿba' (*mahjūb*).

has given precedence to ease (*rāḥa*).[A] Indeed, he ought to preoccupy himself with the Hereafter.'[20] He made it clear that the path to the Hereafter lies beyond abstinence (*zuhd*), just as the path to the pilgrimage lies beyond the removal of the obstacle that hinders the pilgrimage.

Hence, it has become clear that what is intended by 'abstaining from the world' (*al-zuhd fi'l-dunyā*) is the absence of longing for either its presence or non-presence. This is the highest perfection. When 'longing for the world's non-presence' is what it means, then it is perfection at the level of the 'contented', the 'satisfied' and the 'desirous', but deficiency at the level of the 'indifferent'. Thus, where money is concerned, perfection is when money and water are of equal value to you. The abundance of water beside you does not harm you at the seashore; nor should [its] dearth, except in dire need. All the same, you are in need of money just as you are of water. So, let your heart be preoccupied neither with flight from the proximity of abundant water nor aversion towards it. On the contrary, say: I drink from it according to need, and give drink to God's servants according to need. I do not stint it anyone.

This is how money ought to be [regarded]. In respect of need, bread and water are identical, differing only when one is scarce and the other abundant.[21] But if you are cognisant of God and place your trust in the way He manages the world, then you will know that He is certain to give you bread commensurately with your need, for as long as you live; similarly, He will give you as much drink as you need. We shall elucidate this in the *Book of Trust in God*,[B] God willing.

Aḥmad b. Abī al-Ḥawārī relates what he told Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī about Mālik b. Dīnār, who had said to al-Mughīra, 'Go to the house and take the coffee pot you had given me as a gift,

[A] Lit., 'to repose'.

[B] This is chapter xxxv of the *Revival*, *Kitāb al-tawhīd wa'l-tawakkul* (The Book of the Oneness of God and Trust in Him).

for the Foe[A] is whispering to me that a thief has taken it.' Abū Sulaymān replied, 'This counts as a deficiency in the hearts of the Sufis. He has renounced the world,[23] so why should he care who takes it!'[23] [Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī] made it clear that [Mālik b. Dīnār's] dislike for having the coffee pot in his house is a preoccupation with it caused by a weakness and an imperfection.

Why is it, then—you may ask—that the prophets (*anbiyā'*) and friends [of God] (*awliyā'*) flee money, shunning it utterly?

My answer: It is the same as their flight from water, in the sense that they do not drink more than they need and recoil from anything beyond that. They do not collect it in water skins and vessels to be carried around with them. Rather, they leave it in the rivers or in the wells of the deserts for those who may need it; for their hearts are not preoccupied with either desiring it or loathing it.

The treasures of the world were offered to the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) and to Abū Bakr and ʿUmar (may God be pleased with them both). So, they accepted them and put them in their proper places. They did not recoil from them, because to them money and water, gold and stone—all were worth the same.

There is no record that they drew back [from the above]. [On the one hand,] the record tells of those who feared[24] that taking money would beguile and fetter their hearts and thus deliver them to their appetites. This is the situation of the weak, for whom[25] perfection is to be found in loathing and fleeing; it is the precept of all people, because every one of whom—save for the prophets and the friends [of God] (*awliyā'*)—is weak. [On the other,] the record tells of the strong who has attained to perfection but who feigns flight and aversion downward to the level of the weak, that they may follow his example in relinquishing. For if they were to emulate him in the taking, they would perish. Take the example of the snake-charmer who, in the presence of his children, flees

[A] The Devil.

the snake not because he is too weak to take it, but in the knowledge that if he took it, his children might also pick up a snake when they see one and then perish. The prophets, the friends [of God] and the learned, too, are obliged to tread as the weak do.

Thus, you have come to know that there are six levels (*marātib*).[A][26] The highest[27] is that of the 'indifferent' (*mustaghnī*), and then that of the 'abstainer' (*zāhid*), the 'contented' (*rāḍī*), the 'satisfied' (*qāniʿ*) and the 'desirous' (*ḥarīṣ*). Abstinence, contentment and satisfaction are also conceivable with regard to the 'one in dire need' (*muḍtarr*), whose ranking then varies according to how these states differ. The term 'poor' (*faqīr*) applies to these [last] five.

Now, calling the indifferent person 'poor' in no wise gives the same meaning.[28] On the contrary, if he is called poor, it is in another sense—namely, his knowledge that he is, in general, dependent on God in all his affairs, and, in particular, for the perpetuity of his indifference to money. For him, the designation of 'poor' will be similar to the designation of 'servant' (*ʿabd*) for someone who recognises himself in servanthood and settles upon it. While the name 'servant' is true for all people, he is more entitled to the name 'servant' than the heedless. Just as the name 'servant' is true of all people, so the name 'poor' is general to all. Yet, he who recognises himself to be poor with respect to God (*al-faqr ilā Allāh*) is worthier to be called poor. The term 'poor' is shared by the two meanings.[B]

If you comprehend this shared meaning, you will understand that utterances of God's Messenger—'Protect me [God] from poverty'[29] and 'Poverty is almost faithlessness (*kufr*)'[30]—do not contradict a third, 'Keep me an indigent (*miskīn*) while I live and

[A] Above, Ghazālī described the five states (*aḥwāl*) of poverty: the 'abstainer', the 'contented', the 'satisfied', the 'desirous' and the 'one in dire need'. The 'indifferent' was described as higher than these five states. Here, he is ranking all the states and thus including the sixth, 'indifferent'.

[B] Shared by he who is in need of money and by him who acknowledges himself poor with respect to God.

take me [to You] an indigent.'[1] The poverty of dire need (*iḍṭirār*) is that from which he sought protection. But the poverty that consists in acknowledging indigence (*maskana*), lowliness (*dhilla*) and neediness (*iftiqār*) before God, is the one requested by the prayer of God's Messenger and by every chosen servant from the denizens of Earth and Heaven.

CHAPTER TWO

A General Exposition of the Excellence of Poverty

AMONG THE VERSES of the Qur'ān are these words of God that point to [the excellence of poverty], *To the indigent migrants who have been expelled from their homes and property*;[1] and His words, *[Give] to the poor who are beleaguered in God's cause, incapacitated*;[2] and other such words of praise. [God] gave precedence to their attribution of poverty over their attribution of migration and beleaguered state. This clearly signifies praise of poverty.

As to the reports (*akhbār*) extolling poverty, they are too many to enumerate. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar [Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb] related that the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) asked his Companions, 'Who is the best person?' They replied, 'The well-to-do who gives of himself and of his money what is God's due.' He said, 'As excellent as such a man is, it is not he.' They asked, 'Who then is best, O Messenger of God?' He said, 'The poor one who gives his utmost.'[3]

The Messenger of God also told Bilāl, 'Meet God poor, do not meet Him rich.'[4]

Said he (may God bless him and grant him peace), 'God Exalted loves the poor, self-restrained family man.'[A5]

And in the famous report, he stated, 'The poor in my Com-

[A] Lit. 'the father of children' (*abā al-ʿiyāl*). The Arabic *abū* (father) should be taken here in its functional sense—the person with children in his or her charge (here, the one who exercises self-control).

munity enter Paradise before the rich by five hundred years;'[6] and, alternatively, 'by forty autumns'[7]—in other words, forty years. ['Forty autumns'] is intended as a measure of the precedence of the 'desirous-poor' (*faqīr ḥarīṣ*)[A] over the desirous-rich (*ghaniyy ḥarīṣ*);[B] 'Five hundred years' is the measure of the poor-abstainer's (*faqīr zāhid*)[C] precedence over the desirous-rich. The disparity in degrees of poverty we mentioned earlier should acquaint you with the degrees of need by which the poor differ. The desirous-poor is two[8] levels to twenty-five removed from the poor-abstainer, this being the ratio of forty to five hundred.[D]

You must never assume that the measure [chosen] by God's Messenger is stated on his own behalf randomly or arbitrarily; God's Messenger (may God bless him and grant him peace) never spoke except in complete truth. *He does not speak from desire. It is only revelation that is revealed.*[9] This [report] is similar to his words, 'The sound vision is one of the forty-six parts of prophethood.'[10] This unquestionably is a measure confirmed (*taqdīr taḥqīq*).[E] It is not within anyone's capacity to know the cause for this measure except through guessing, never through direct confirmation. For it is well-known that prophethood (*nubuwwa*) expresses what is particular to the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) and that by which he is distinct from everyone else. His distinctiveness is due to [certain] kinds of qualities (*khawāṣ*):

The first quality is that he knows 'the realities of things' (*ḥaqā'iq al-umūr*)[11] in relation to God, His attributes, the angels and the abode of the Hereafter as no one else does. Indeed, the Messenger of God differs from others in the abundance of the information

[A] The fourth among the five states of poverty discussed above.

[B] Such 'measure' gives a sense of their relative worth based on their different circumstances but similar motives. Their motivation is the same—the desire for money.

[C] The first among the five states of poverty.

[D] The ratio of 40 to 500 is 1/12.5 or 2/25 as given above.

[E] As verified by the Messenger of God's own experience.

and the elevation [that accompanies] certainty, [direct] confirmation and spiritual unveiling (*kashf*).[12]

The second is that he himself[13] possesses an attribute by virtue of which he accomplishes extraordinary acts,[A] just as we possess an attribute—namely, power (*qudra*)—by virtue of which the motions connected to our will and free choice are accomplished, even though power and everything wrought by power are the act of God.

The third is that he has an attribute by which he can see the angels and observe them directly, just as the seeing person has an attribute that distinguishes him from the blind and by which he perceives the objects of sight.

The fourth is that he has an attribute by which, awake or asleep, he perceives the unknown that is yet to happen. Indeed, through this attribute he descries the Preserved Tablet.[14] Thus, he sees what it contains of the unknown.

These are perfections and attributes whose ascription to the prophets is acknowledged. Also acknowledged is the manifold division of each [perfection]. Perhaps we can divide [the perfections of prophethood] into forty, fifty or sixty. We can also take it upon ourselves to divide them into forty-six, such that the 'sound vision'[B] occurs as one part of the whole.[15] However, specifying one of several possible ways of dividing them is only possible through conjecture and guesswork. We can never know by direct confirmation whether or not this [way] is what the Messenger of God meant. What can be known, rather, are the general attributes that complete prophethood and the root of their division. This[16] [however] cannot guide us to knowledge of the cause [that explains] the [specific] measure [intended].[C]

[A] Lit., 'acts that transcend the norm' (*kharq al-ʿādāt*).

[B] The 'sound vision' mentioned in the Tradition quoted above.

[C] 'Specific' is what must decisively distinguish something, in this case the truth about which 'way' was meant by the Prophet. It is accepted that what is specific to a thing cannot be deduced from a general idea, any more than can a particular instantiation from the universal concept. Logically, that *this* horse is black cannot be deduced from the universal concept 'horse', which applies to horses in all their colours.

This, then, is how we know that the poor, as mentioned above, have degrees. But why does the desirous-poor occupy, say, half of one-sixth of the degree of the poor-abstainer, such that his advance towards Paradise is no more than forty years, while this advance was [also] determined to be five hundred years?[A] Discerning this is not within the capacity of any mortal[17] besides the prophets save by guessing, which is untrustworthy. The purpose here is to inform about the method of measuring such matters. He who is weak of faith assumes that this emanates from the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) by way of coincidence. Far be it from the office of prophethood!

But let us return to citing the reports. The Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) further said, 'The best of this Community are its poor and the swiftest to find restful recline in Paradise are its weak.'[18]

Said he, 'I have two vocations. Whoever loves them loves me, whoever detests them detests me, [my]poverty and struggle (*jihād*).'

It is related that Gabriel (peace be upon him), descended to God's Messenger and said, 'O Muhammad, God Almighty and Majestic greets you and asks: Is it your wish that I turn these mountains into gold and that they be with you wherever you may be?' After lying silent for a spell, the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) said, 'O Gabriel, the world is home to he who has no [other] home and wealth to he who has no [other] wealth; and for it hoards he that has no comprehension.' Answered Gabriel, 'Muhammad, may God confirm you with [His] ever-constant word (*al-qawl al-thābit*).'[19]

It is related that, while journeying, the Messiah[B] (may God

[A] As Ghazālī mentioned above, the five hundred years is the difference between the entry into Paradise of the poor-abstainer and of the desirous-rich. The desirous-poor is above the desirous-rich and enters into Paradise forty years ahead of him.

[B] When writing about Jesus, Ghazālī uses both al-Masīḥ (the Messiah) and ʿĪsā (Jesus), both of which are Qurʾānic.

bless him and grant him peace) came upon a man sleeping wrapped up in his cloak. He woke him, saying, 'Rise, O sleeper, and remember God.' And the man said, 'What do you want from me? I have abandoned the world to its people.' The Messiah then said to him, 'Then sleep, beloved one, sleep.'[20]

Moses (may God bless him and grant him peace) once came upon a man sleeping on bare ground and beneath his head was a brick. He was wrapped up in his cloak and his face and beard were in the dust. Moses said, 'O Lord, this servant of Yours is wretched in the world.' So, God revealed to Moses, 'Moses, you know well that if I look upon a servant with My whole Face, the whole world would be banished from him.'[21]

From Abū Rāfiʿ [al-Qibṭī] it is related, 'The Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) had a guest for whom he could find nothing suitable [to offer]. Therefore, he sent me to a man from among the Jews of Khaybar with the words: "Muḥammad asks you, 'Lend or sell me wheat until the new moon of the month of Rajab.'" I conveyed this to him and he said, "No, by God, not without a security pledged." I informed God's Messenger of this,[22] and he said to me, "By God, yet trustworthy am I among the denizens of Heaven, trustworthy among the denizens of the Earth. If he sells or lends to me, I shall pay him back. Take along this my shield and pledge it." When I left, the following verse was revealed [to the Messenger], *Nor strain your eyes in longing for the things We have given for enjoyment to some, the splendour of the life of this world...*[23] This verse consoled the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) against the world.'[24]

Said God's Messenger, 'Poverty is comelier for the faithful than the handsome harness piece on the horse's cheek.'[25]

May God bless him and grant him peace said, 'Whoever is healthy of body, sound of mind and has his day's sustenance, it is as if every whit of this world had been gained.'[26]

Kaʿb al-Aḥbār recounted, 'God said to Moses, "O Moses, if you find poverty imminent, then say, Welcome to the ensign of the upright."'[27]

And ʿAṭāʾ al-Khurāsānī relates, 'One of the prophets came to a shore and found a man fishing. [The man] uttered, "In the name of God," and then cast his net. But he drew nothing.[28] [The Prophet] came upon another person, who uttered "In the name of the Devil," and cast his net. The latter drew fish in such abundance it made him waver. So the prophet asked, "Lord, what is this? I know that all is in Your Hand." God then told His angels, "Disclose to this My servant the standing of each." When the prophet saw what honour God had made ready for the one and the degradation for the other, he declared, "I accept, Lord."'

Our own Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) said, 'I gained view of Paradise and saw that its denizens were mostly the poor. And I gained view of Hell and saw that its denizens were mostly the rich and women.'[29] According to another version, 'I asked where the rich were and was told good fortune had imprisoned them.'[30] And in another report, 'I saw the denizens of Hell to be mostly women. So I asked about their case. I was told that they had been preoccupied with the two 'reds': gold and saffron.'[31]

The Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) said, 'In this world, poverty is a boon for the believer.'[32]

A report contains, 'The last prophet to enter Paradise is Solomon Son of David (peace be upon them both) because of the stature of his kingdom. The last of my own Companions to enter Paradise is ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf because of his wealth.'[33] In another, 'I saw him crawling into Paradise.'[34]

As the Messiah said, 'With difficulty do the wealthy enter Paradise.'[35]

In another report, the Prophet stated about his Household,[36] 'When God loves his servant, He tests him (*ibtalāhu*); loving him profoundly, He takes possession of him (*iqtanāhu*).' He was asked, 'And what does "taking possession of him" mean?' Answered the Prophet, 'He leaves him neither family nor wealth.'[37]

And again, 'If you see poverty imminent, bid welcome the ensign of the upright. If you see wealth imminent, say, "An offence whose punishment has been hastened."'[38]

Asked Moses (peace be upon him), 'Whom among Your creatures do You love the most, Lord, that I may love them for Your sake.' To which God answered, 'The poor, the poor!'[39] It may well be that the repetition here is for emphasis, or that God may have intended those in severe hardship.

Declared the Messiah (peace be upon him), 'Indigence (*maskana*) do I love and well-being (*niʿmā'*) abhor.'[40]

And the dearest name to him (peace be upon him) was to be addressed by, 'O Indigent One (*yā miskīn*)'.[41]

The notables of the Arabs and the wealthy among them said to the Prophet, 'Grant us one day and them another day—when they come to you we shall not, and when we come to you they shall not.' What they meant were poor people like Bilāl, Salmān [al-Fārisī], Ṣuhayb [b. Sinān], Abū Dharr, Khabbāb b. al-Aratt, ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, Abū Hurayra and the People of the Ledge[A]—may God be pleased with them all. The Prophet assented to this, their complaint having been about the odour of the poor. People were wont to wear wool in the harshest heat. When they perspired, bad smells rose from their garments. This was unbearable to the rich, among whom was al-Aqraʿ b. Ḥābis al-Tamīmī, ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn al-Fazāriyy,[42] ʿAbbās b. Mirdās al-Sulamī and others. The Messenger of God assured them that he would not assemble one and all in the same meeting. Then it was revealed to him, *And keep yourself with those who call on their Lord morning and evening, seeking His Face; and let not your eyes pass beyond them...*[43]—meaning the poor—*seeking the pomp of this life*[44]—meaning the rich. *[N]or obey any whose heart We have permitted to neglect the remembrance of Us*[45]—meaning the rich. *Say: The Truth is from thy Lord. Let him who wills it believe; and let him who wills it reject.*[46]

[A] In the Prophet's time, *Aṣḥāb al-ṣuffa* or *Ahl al-ṣuffa* ('People of the Ledge') were those poor who migrated from Mecca to Medina and who, having no home, used to repair to a raised platform inside the mosque of Medina (*Lisān al-ʿArab* IX.195). Cf. Suhrawardī, *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* 107-10, on the resemblance of *Ahl al-ribāt* ('people of the hospice for wayfarers') to *Ahl al-ṣuffa*.

Ibn Umm Maktūm [al-Aʿmā] once entered the house of the Prophet, who was receiving a high-born man from the Quraysh. This irked the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace), and God revealed, *He frowned and turned away, because the blind man came to him. Yet what tells you but that, perchance, he might not gain in understanding, or that he might not receive admonition and the teaching profit him*[47]—referring to Ibn Umm Maktūm. *As to the one who regards himself as self-sufficient, to him do you attend*[48]—namely, the high-born man.[49]

It is related that the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) said, 'On the Day of Resurrection, a servant will be brought [before God] and God will apologise to him as one man would to another in this world, "By My Might and My Majesty, I did not withhold the world from you because of your lowliness to Me, but for what honour and merit I have prepared for you. Go forth, O My servant, among these rows. And whoever fed or clothed you desiring therewith only My Face, take his hand, he is yours." On that Day,[50] the people shall be drenched in sweat, so, he will take his place among the rows and watch for him who treated him thus; taking him by the hand, he will lead him to Paradise.'

Said the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace), 'Increase your acquaintance with the poor and seek their favours, for they have a claim.' They asked, 'O Messenger of God, what is their claim?' He replied, 'On the Day of Resurrection, they will be told: See who nourished you with a bread morsel or given you drink or clothing, then take his hand and bring him to Paradise.'[51] Said the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace), 'I entered Paradise and heard a stir in front of me. I looked and, lo, it was Bilāl. Then, as I gazed at Paradise's highest elevation, lo, it was the poor of my Community and their progeny. I looked at its lowest point and, lo,[52] in it were only a few wealthy persons and women. I asked,[53] "Lord, what is their case?" He said, "As to the women, they were assailed[54] by the two 'reds'—gold and silk[A]—

[A] Above, 'the two reds' are given as gold and saffron.

and as to the rich, they are busy with long accounts."[A] I searched for my Companions but could not find ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf. Later, he approached me crying. I asked him, "What kept you from me?" He said, "O Messenger of God, by God,[55] no sooner did I find my way to you than I came upon what renders one grey.[B] I thought that I would never see you [again]." I said to him, "Why?" He replied, "I was being judged over my wealth."'[56]

Consider this, then. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [b. ʿAwf] is mentioned by the Messenger of God among the foremost. He figures among the ten[57] specially marked for Paradise. He was one of the wealthy people about whom the Messenger of God said, 'Except he who said, "With wealth [I shall do] this and that [good]."'[58] All the same, he was harmed by wealth precisely to such an extent.

The Messenger of God came upon a poor man and, seeing that he owned nothing, said, 'If the light of this [man] were divided among the Earth's inhabitants, it would embrace them [all].'

He (may God bless him and grant him peace) added, 'Shall I tell you about the kings of the People of Paradise?' They said, 'Yes, O Messenger of God.' He said, 'Every helpless person deprived, covered with dust, unkempt, with two rags to his name, and drawing little attention to himself—were he to entreat[C] God he would be granted favour.'[59]

Said ʿImrān b. Ḥuṣayn, 'I used to have position and standing with God's Messenger. He asked me, "ʿImrān, to me you are a man of position and standing. Do you wish to visit Fāṭima, the daughter of God's Messenger?" I answered, "Yes, by my father and mother,[D60] O Messenger of God." He then stood up, and I with him, and went to Fāṭima's door. Knocking at the door, he

[A] That is, giving account for their wealth just as ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf says later in the report.

[B] In other words, causes one's hair to go grey (Zabīdī 279).

[C] A play on words between *aqsama ʿalā Allāh* ('entreat God', in this sentence) and *qussima al-nūr* ('the light…divided', just above).

[D] Meaning, 'may my father and mother be your sacrifice (*afdīka bi-abī wa-ummī*).' It was common among the Companions to address the Prophet in this way.

announced, "Peace be upon you. May I enter?"

"'Enter, O Messenger of God," she answered.

"'I and the person with me?" he asked.

"'And who is with you, Messenger of God?"

"'ʿImrān"—to which Fāṭima replied, "By the One who sent you as a Prophet with the truth, I have but a woollen cover on me!"

"'Do with it such-and-such," he said, gesturing with his hands.

"'This my body I have covered up—what of my head?" He threw her a tattered cloth he wore: "Place it over your head."[61] She then gave him her permission and he entered.

"'Peace be upon thee, my daughter. How are you this morning?"

"'I ail, by God, and my ailment has increased as I can find nothing to eat. So, hunger assails me." The Messenger of God wept, saying, "Be not distressed, daughter. By God, I have not tasted food in three days, though I am more honoured than you before God. And were I to request it from my Lord, He would feed me. But I prefer the Hereafter to this world." Then he put his hand on her shoulder, "Rejoice. By God, you are preeminent among the women of Heaven (*sayyidat nisāʾ al-janna*)."

'Asked Fāṭima, "What of Āsiya, Pharaoh's wife, and Maryam the daughter of ʿImrān?"

'He said to her, "Āsiya is preeminent among the women of her people, Maryam is preeminent among the women of her people, Khadīja is preeminent among the women of her people, and you are preeminent among the women of your people. You shall dwell in houses made of brocade wherein there is no harm, no tumult and no exertion." Then he said to her, "Accept your uncle's son, for, by God, I shall marry you to a preeminent man in this world and preeminent man in the next."'[62]

From ʿAlī (may God be pleased with him) it is related that the Messenger of God declared, 'When people detest their poor, setting themselves to building the world and jostling pell-mell to amass money, God shall cast upon them four traits: the want of time, the wantonness of rulers, the treachery of magistrates and the might of enemies.'[63]

Among the accounts (*āthār*): Abū al-Dardāʾ (may God be pleased with him) said, 'He who owns two dirhams is more imprisoned (*habs*),' or he may have said that 'his judgement (*ḥisāb*) is worse than [that of] the owner of the one dirham.'[64]

After ʿUmar sent a thousand dinars to Saʿīd b. ʿĀmir [b. Khidyam al-Jumaḥī], the latter became mournful and distraught. His wife then asked him if something had happened. He answered, 'Worse than that. Give me your worn-out vest,' whereupon he cut it up and wrapped up bundles [of the money] and distributed it. He rose to pray, weeping until morning; finally he said that he had heard the Messenger of God utter, 'The poor of my Community will enter Paradise before the rich by five hundred years; and if a rich man were to join their ranks, he would be taken by the hand and led out.'[65]

Abū Hurayra said, 'Three shall enter Paradise without being judged: a man who intending to wash his clothing has no other rag to wear; one who never has two pots on his hearth; and the third is he who, when calling for his drink, is never asked which one?'[66]

It is said that a poor man came to a gathering of [Sufyān] al-Thawrī's and was told, 'Come over! Had you been rich, I would not have brought you near.' His wealthy companions used to claim they were poor from his great closeness to the poor and his avoidance of the rich.

Said al-Muʾammal [b. Ismāʿīl al-ʿAdawī al-Baṣrī], 'I have not seen anyone lowlier than the rich at the gathering of Thawrī. Nor have I seen anyone more honoured at the gathering of Thawrī than the poor.'[67]

As one sage held, 'Miserable is man. If he feared the Fire as much as he does poverty,[68] he would be saved from both. If he desired Paradise as much as he does wealth, he would achieve both. If he feared God interiorly as he does God's creatures exteriorly, he would find felicity in both worlds.'[69]

[ʿAbd Allāh] Ibn ʿAbbās, 'Cursed is the one who honours wealth and slights poverty.'

As Luqmān said to his son, 'Scorn not someone for the shabbiness of his raiment, for your God and his are one.'

Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh, 'Your love for the poor is in character with the messengers [of God]; your fondness for their company is the mark of the upright (*ṣāliḥūn*); your flight from their friendship is the mark of the hypocrites (*munāfiqūn*).'

The reports from the sacred books of former times have it that God revealed to one of his prophets, 'Beware of becoming loathesome to Me! You will fall in My estimation, and I will let this world befall you.'[70]

ʿĀ'isha distributed—in a single day—a hundred thousand dirhams which Muʿāwiya [b. Abī Sufyān], [ʿAbd Allāh] b. ʿĀmir and others had given her, even though her own vest was in tatters. Said the servant-girl, 'If only you had bought yourself one dirham's worth of meat, you could have broken fast with it.' For she had been fasting. ʿĀ'isha replied, 'I would have done it had you reminded me.'[71] For the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) had counselled her, 'If you wish to follow me, then you must live like the poor and be wary of keeping company with the rich. And shed not your vest until you have mended it.'[72]

A man brought ten thousand dirhams to Ibrāhīm b. Adham, who declined to accept them. The man pressed him, but Ibrāhīm said, 'Would you have me expunge my name from the roster of the poor with ten thousand dirhams? Never would I commit such a thing'—may God be pleased with him.[73]

CHAPTER THREE

An Exposition of the Particular Excellence of the Poor who are Contented, who are Satisfied and who are Sincere[A]

THE MESSENGER OF GOD (God bless him and grant him peace) has said, 'Good tidings to he who has been guided to submission [to God] (*islām*), whose livelihood is just enough (*ʿayshuhu kafāf*) and he is satisfied (*qanaʿa*) with it.'[1] He also said, 'O concourse of the poor, give to God your heart's contentment (*riḍā*) that you may be fully rewarded for your poverty, otherwise you shall not be.'[2] The former [report has to do with] the satisfied (*qāniʿ*), [latter with] the contented (*rāḍī*).

This may almost be taken to mean that[3] the desirous (*ḥarīṣ*)[B] is not rewarded for his poverty. But [the things] generally [mentioned] about the excellence of poverty indicate that he is rewarded, as we shall shortly confirm. Perhaps what is meant by the absence of contentment is the aversion toward God's act of withholding the world from him. It is possible for someone to long for money without harbouring an objection or aversion regarding God's act. It is just such aversion that stays the reward for poverty.

[A] This chapter is a discussion of the excellence of the second and the third states of poverty. Its title appears to introduce a new state of poverty: 'those who are sincere' (*ṣādiqūn*). As Ghazālī will soon make clear, 'those who are sincere' refers to 'those who are sincere' from among the 'contented' and the 'satisfied'.

[B] The fourth state of poverty.

ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb is said to have related that the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) stated, 'For everything there is a key. The key to Paradise is love of the destitute and the poor for their forbearance. It is they who shall sit with God on the Day of Resurrection.'[4]

ʿAlī (may God honour him fully) related that the Prophet had said, 'God's most beloved servant is the poor one satisfied with his portion, content with God.'[5]

The Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) also said, 'O God, make the sustenance of the House of Muḥammad [no more than what] suffices (*kafāf*).'[6]

He said, 'There is not a person, rich or poor, who will not wish on the Day of Resurrection that he had been given [only] sustenance (*qūt*) in the world.'[A7]

God revealed to Ismāʿīl (peace be upon him), 'Search for Me among the broken-hearted.' Asked Ismāʿīl, 'And who are they?' 'The sincere poor (*al-fuqarāʾ al-ṣādiqūn*),' said God.[8]

Said the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace), 'None is better than the poor one who is contented.'[9]

May God bless him and grant him peace said, 'On the Day of Resurrection, God will ask, "Where is the cream (*ṣafwa*) of my people?" And the angels shall say, "Who are they, our Lord?" "The poor who submit satisfied with what I gave, contented with My decree. Admit them into Paradise." Thus, they enter to eat and drink while the reckoning of people continues.'[10]

All this concerns those who are satisfied and those who are contented. As for the abstainer, we shall speak about his excellence in the second half of the book, God willing.

The accounts (*āthār*) concerning 'contentment' and 'satisfaction' abound. It is well known that the opposite of satisfaction (*qanāʿa*)

[A] Ghazālī is probably using the term *qūt* here as a synonym for *kafāf*. Meaning that there is not a person, rich or poor, who will not wish on the Day of Resurrection that he had been given *only what was sufficient for his needs* in the world. *Qūt* also means 'food'.

is avidity (*ṭamaʿ*).[11] ʿUmar (may God be pleased with him) said that avidity is poverty and renunciation[A] wealth, whoever renounces what others possess and is satisfied has no need of [others].[12]

[ʿAbd Allāh] Ibn Masʿūd (may God be pleased with him) said that not a day passes when, from below the Throne, an angel does not call out, 'O Son of Adam, better for you the meagre but sufficient than the plenty which causes transgression.'

Said Abū al-Dardāʾ (may God be pleased with him), 'A person would certainly be deficient of mind if, whenever the world offers him a boon, he remains delighted and happy. Yet, the days and nights are assiduously wearing away[13] at his life and this does not grieve him. Alas, Son of Adam, what is the advantage of having wealth increase and life decrease?'[14]

A sage was once asked, 'What is wealth?' His answer, 'Your few aspirations and your contentment with what suffices you.'

It is said that Ibrāhīm b. Adham was one of the well-to-do of Khurāsān.[B] One day, while looking from atop a palace of his, he saw a man in the courtyard eating a loaf of bread in hand. Having eaten, the man fell asleep. 'Bring him to me when he wakes,' Ibrāhīm instructed one of his servants. Upon waking the man was brought to him and Ibrāhīm asked, 'Did you eat the loaf of bread from hunger, man?

'Yes,' replied the man.

'Are you sated?' Ibrāhīm asked.

'Yes.'

'And you slept soundly?'

'Yes.'

Ibrāhīm then said to himself, 'What have I to do with this world when the soul is content with so little?'

A man came to ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd Qays, as he ate salt and greens, and asked him, 'O ʿAbd Allāh,[15] are you content with this from the world?'

[A] *Yaʾs* has been translated as 'renunciation', but it can also mean 'despair' or 'no longer to hope'.

[B] His father was a governor of Balkh (Zabīdī 283).

'Shall I point you to one who is content with worse?' he replied.

'Yes, indeed.'

'Whoever is content with this world in return[16] for the Hereafter,' he said.

Muḥammad b. Wāsiʿ al-Baṣrī[17] used to take out desiccated bread, moisten it with water and eat it with salt, saying, 'Whoever is content with this from the world needs no one.'

Likewise, said al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī], 'God has cursed nations to whom God Exalted had made a promise but they believed Him not. He then recited, *And in heaven is your sustenance and what you are promised. And by the Lord of heaven and earth, this is the very truth.*'[18]

Abū al-Dardā'[19] (may God be pleased with him) was one day sitting among people. His wife came to him, saying, 'You sit among these people[20] but, by God, there is not a fleck or speck of anything in the house.' Said Abū al-Dardā', 'O woman, before us lies a steep road from which there is no deliverance save for every lightly burdened person.'[21] She returned content.[22]

Dhū'l-Nūn [al-Miṣrī], 'Of all people, the closest to unbelief is one who has a need but no patience.'

And a sage was asked, 'What is your wealth?' His answer, 'Self-adornment on the outside,[A] [good] intention on the inside and renunciation of what is in the hands of people.'

It is related that God said in a scripture revealed aforetime, 'O Son of Adam, if the whole world were yours, you would have nothing from it but sustenance (*qūt*). When I give you sustenance from it [without effort] and place the burden of the account upon another, it is because I am beneficent towards you.'

About 'satisfaction' (*qanāʿa*) it has been said:

[A] The Arabic is *tajammul*, which carries the meaning of 'to take on the appearance of beauty'. In the context of this saying, it implies appearing better than one's actual state to avoid showing one's poverty.

Make your entreaties to God, not to another
Be satisfied to renounce, in renunciation is the honour
Free yourself of every relation, every kinship
For rich is the person in need of no other.

And in this sense, also:

O gatherer, O withholder, who in time's gaze
Weighs which of his doors bolted stays,
Musing how his desire shall strike him.
By morn? Or will it steal upon him and then
overtake him?[23]
'Tis money you have gathered.
So tell me, O gatherer of money, if withal,
Garnered are the days to dole out your haul
Money you hoard for its heir,
Yet money is not yours save for daily fare
Relish the thought of a youth wending early,
Certain he divides wealth who gives the lad's
portion fairly.
His honour safe from what disgrace may hold
His countenance new and scarce worn old
For satisfaction whose orb betides[24] a man,
In its shade, what sleepless care remains.[25]

CHAPTER FOUR

An Exposition of Poverty's Excellence over Wealth

KNOW THAT people disagree on this. [Abū'l-Qāsim] al-Junayd, [Ibrāhīm] al-Khawwāṣ and most others are of a view that favours poverty. [Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad] Ibn ʿAṭā' said, 'A wealthy man who is thankful and who upholds His right [over his wealth] is more virtuous than the poor who is patient.' But it was said that Junayd cursed Ibn ʿAṭā' for differing from him, and a trial befell the latter.[1] We have discussed this in the *Book of Patience*,[A] [more particularly] with regard to the difference between patience and thankfulness; and [there too] we introduced how virtuous acts and states may be sought, and that this is not possible without elaboration.

When poverty and wealth are taken generally, the person reading the reports and the accounts will have no reservations about the excellence of poverty [over wealth]. This must be elaborated, and we say: doubt is conceivable at two stations.

The first station is that of a patient poor person who is not desirous in his pursuit; instead, he is satisfied or contented compared to a rich man who spends his money on good works and is not bent on holding on to his money. The second station is that

[A] *Kitāb al-sabr wa'l-shukr*, Book XXXII of the *Revival of the Religious Sciences*; translated as *Al-Ghazali on Patience and Thankfulness* by H. T. Littlejohn, Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 2011.

of the desirous-poor together with the desirous-rich, it being accepted that the satisfied poor man is better than the desirous, niggardly man of wealth, and that the wealthy one who spends his money on good works is better than the poor but desirous man.

THE FIRST STATIONS—One may surmise that the wealthy man is better than the poor man because, equally weak in their desire for wealth, the rich man nevertheless draws near [to God] through the almsgiving and good works of which the poor man is incapable. We reckon that this was the understanding of Ibn ʿAṭā'. But it is inconceivable that the rich man who takes pleasure in his wealth—however permissible—should be better than the poor but satisfied man.

What was related in the reports[2] appears to bear witness to [the opinion of Ibn ʿAṭā'], that the poor complained to the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) that the rich were far ahead in good works, almsgiving, pilgrimage and struggle (*jihād*). So, he taught them certain invocations (*tasbīḥ*) and told them that with these words they will achieve more than the wealthy. Learning this, the wealthy took to uttering the invocations. The poor returned[3] then to inform[4] the Messenger of God, who told them, *Such is God's favour which He gives unto whom He will*.[5]

Ibn ʿAṭā' also cited this to someone who asked about it, adding that 'rich' (*ghaniyy*) is better because it is an epithet of God.[A]

However, his first argument calls for careful consideration, because the report is given in details that clearly point to the contrary: namely, that the poor man's reward for his invocation is above that of the wealthy; and that their obtaining this reward is a favour from God granted to whomsoever He wills.[6]

Said Zayd b. Aslam, on the authority of Anas b. Mālik, 'The poor sent a messenger to God's Messenger (may God bless him and grant him peace) who said to him, "I am the messenger of the poor to you."

[A] *Ghaniyy* is one of God's names (Cf. Q. II. 267, Q.III.97, Q. XXIX.6).

'Said the Messenger of God, "Welcome to you and to all whom you represent. You have come from a people I love."

'The [messenger of the poor] continued, "They say 'O Messenger of God, the rich have taken Paradise[7] [for themselves]. They perform the pilgrimage while we cannot. They perform the short pilgrimage (*'umra*), while we cannot. When they fall ill, they send for provisions by grace of their wealth.'"

'Said the Prophet,[8] "From me relay to the poor, 'Whoever among you is patient and anticipates [the reward from God] has three traits which the rich do not have. One trait is that in Paradise there are chambers to which the denizens of Paradise look up, just as the denizens of earth look up to the stars of heaven. None but a poor prophet, poor martyr or poor believer may enter them. The second trait is that the poor shall enter Paradise before the rich by a half-day, that is five hundred years.[A] The third is when the rich person says 'Glory be to God (*subḥān Allāh*)', 'Praise be to God (*al-ḥamd li-Llāh*), 'There is no deity but God (*lā ilāha illa Allāh*)' and 'God is most great (*Allāh akbar*)'; and the poor person says the same, [even if] the rich man were to spend 10,000 dirhams he would not overtake the poor. The same holds for every pious act."

'The messenger then returned to inform the poor about what the Messenger of God had said,[9] to which they answered, "We are content, we are content!"'[10]

This indicates that the Messenger of God said, *Such is God's favour which He gives unto whom He will*, signifies an additional reward to the poor for their utterance.

As to his [Ibn 'Aṭā"s] claim that 'self-sufficient' (*ghaniyy*) is an attribution of God, a scholar rebutted this, saying, 'Do you consider God Exalted 'self-sufficient' (*ghaniyy*) according to the reasons and accidents?'[B] At that Ibn 'Aṭā' withdrew and said no more.

[A] This is in reference to the Qur'ānic verse: *A day with God is as a thousand years of what you reckon* (Q. XXII.47).

[B] That is, according to the same reasons and accidental properties by which human beings are said to be materially self-sufficient.

Some have said,[11] 'Pride (*takabbur*) is one of God's attributes; therefore, it must be superior to humbleness (*tawāḍu'*).' Others countered that, 'Nay, this shows that "poverty"[12] is better because the attributes of servanthood (*'ubūdiyya*)—like fear and hope—are better [suited] for the servant; and that the attributes of lordship must not be contested.'[13]

This is why God said, as related from our Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace), 'Pride is My garb, grandeur My gown. Whoever contests Me either, I shall smite him.'[14]

As Sahl [al-Tustarī] said, 'To love might and permanence is to associate oneself (*shirk*) with lordship and to defy it, because they are the attributes of the Lord Exalted.'[15]

The merits of wealth and poverty have been discussed in like ways. The outcome of this has been an attachment to generalities which are susceptible to interpretation and to terse statements that do not exclude their contraries. For just as the claim of one who deems 'wealth' meritorious inasmuch as it is an attribute of God can be refuted through [the argument from] 'pride', so the claim of one who reproves wealth because it is an attribution of the servant can be refuted through [the argument from] 'knowledge' (*'ilm*) and 'power' (*qudra*).[16] The latter are attributed to the Lord, while ignorance and incapacity[17] are the servant's. Yet no one prefers heedlessness and incapacity to knowledge and power![18] What we discussed in the *Book of Patience* lays this bare.

Thus, what is not intended for its own sake but for the sake of something else has to be related to its purpose, thanks to which its [distinct] merit (*faḍl*) comes to light.[19] The world is not blameable in itself but only because it is an impediment to reaching God. Nor is poverty sought for itself, but because in it lies the removal of the impediment to God and the absence of what detracts from Him. Many a wealthy man is not distracted from God by his wealth—for example, Solomon (peace be upon him), 'Uthmān [b. 'Affān] and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf (may God be pleased with them both). And many a poor man is distracted and diverted from the purpose by poverty. And in this world, the uppermost

goal is love of God and intimacy with Him. This can occur only after cognisance (*maʿrifa*) of Him. But it is impossible to pursue the path of cognisance while distracted. Indeed, poverty is one such distraction, just as wealth is a distraction. On verification, the distraction is love of this world, since the love of God can never combine with it in the heart. Someone who loves a thing is preoccupied with it, whether he is separated from or united with it. His preoccupation might be the greater upon either his separation or union. The world is the darling of the heedless. The one deprived of it[20] is absorbed in its quest; while the one who possesses it is absorbed in preserving and enjoying it.

Suppose, then, two people so little enamoured of money that money to them is like water—its absence and presence are of equal worth—since neither benefits from it except in proportion to need. Now, the existence of the proportion to need is better than its removal, because the famished person is on course to death, not knowledge.

If you approach the matter by considering what is greater than [need],[21] then the poor man is less imperilled, since the trials of well-being (*fitnat al-sarrāʾ*) are more severe than the trials of adversity (*fitnat al-ḍarrāʾ*)—that he is without means is a protection.

This is why the Companions said, 'When the trial of adversity befell us, we endured. But when the trial of well-being befell us, we could not.'[22]

This is the character of all human beings, save those singular exceptions only rarely found over many ages past.[23] The law of religion is addressed to all rather than to such exceptions, and adversity is the more fitting for everyone, rather than those exceptions. The law of religion rebukes wealth and reproves it, deeming poverty meritorious and praising it. Hence, the Messiah (may God grant him peace) said, 'Gaze not at the riches of people of this world; the glitter of their riches shall take away the light of your faith.'[24]

One scholar said, 'Scrutinizing possessions draws away the sweetness of faith.'[25]

According to a report, 'Every community has its [golden] calf, and the [golden] calf of this community is the dinar and the dirham.'[26] The calf of the People of Moses, likewise, had once been trinkets of gold and silver.[27]

The equal worth of money and water, of gold and stone is possible for the prophets and the friends [of God]. This they achieve by God's grace with lengthy struggle. For the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) used to say to this world, 'Be gone!'—as it used to appear to him fully embellished.

ʿAlī (may God honour him fully) used to say, 'O yellow one, entice someone else than me. O white one, entice someone else than me.'[A] This was due to his awareness of the first glimmerings of enticement rising in his soul, *had he not seen the proof of his Lord*.[28] This is absolute self-sufficiency (*al-ghinā al-muṭlaq*). For the Prophet said, 'Wealth is not abundance of goods. Wealth is the self-sufficiency of the soul.'[29]

When this [possibility] is remote, the loss of wealth is then more appropriate for everyone, whether by giving it away in charity or spending it on good works. This is because, commanding wealth, they cannot separate themselves from intimacy with this world, from the enjoyment of power in it and from the sense of leisurely spending in it—all of which bequeath intimacy with this world. And the more intimately familiar a person becomes with the world, the more he will be estranged from the Hereafter. The more familiar he is with one or another attribute of his besides his cognisance of God, the more estranged he will be from God and the love of God. Whenever the causes for intimate familiarity with the world are extirpated, the heart eschews the world and its sheen. When the heart eschews what is other than God and has faith in God, it will perforce turn to Him in devotion, since no heart can be void.

There is nothing in existence save God and what is other than God. Thus, whoever draws towards what is other than God

[A] That is, gold and silver.

eschews God, and whoever draws towards Him eschews what is other than Him. A person's approach to either one is commensurate with his avoidance of the other; his proximity to the one is proportional to his distance from the other. These may be likened to the east and the west, being two [opposite] directions. Therefore, the person wavering between them approaches the one in proportion to his move away from the other; approaching the one is precisely moving away from the other. The essence of loving the world is the essence of hating God. Thus, the object to which the one cognisant of [God](*ʿārif*) aspires ought to be his heart's aversion[30] for the world and its intimacy with it.

Therefore, the pre-eminence of the poor or of the rich is strictly commensurate with their hearts' attachment to wealth (*māl*). If wealth is of equal worth to them, then they are at the same level. However, this is where the foot[31] is liable to slip—a place of self-delusion. The rich man might well believe that his heart is detached from wealth, while his love for it is deeply embedded inside him without him being aware of it, though he becomes aware of [his attachment] once he loses it [his wealth]. So, let him test himself by giving it way or[32] [when he is] robbed; if he finds his heart turning to it, he will then realise that he was deluding himself. How many a man has given up his concubine, believing his heart unattached to her? Once the transaction has been fulfilled and he surrenders her, the flame concealed inside him flares up in his heart, thereby confirming[33] that he was self-deluded and that the yearning was nestling in his bosom as the fire nestles just beneath the ashes.[34] This state is true of all the 'rich', but not the prophets and the friends [of God].

But if all this is inconceivable or remote, let us set forth that poverty is more becoming and better for everyone, because the poor person's tie and intimacy with the world is weaker. The reward for his praises and acts of worship will double as his tie weakens. The movements of the tongue[A] are not intended for

[A] In *dhikr*, or invocation of God.

themselves but for the reaffirmation of intimacy with what is being invoked. Their efficacy in arousing intimacy in a heart that is free of what is not invoked is unlike their efficacy [35] on a heart that is preoccupied so.

This is why one of the First Generations (*al-Salaf*) said that the person who worships while seeking the world is like someone putting out a fire with esparto grass, or someone washing his rancid hands with fish.[36]

Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī said, 'The breathing of a poor man who has no desire is better than a thousand years of worship by a rich man.'[37]

Al-Ḍaḥḥāk [b. Muzāḥim al-Hilālī al-Balkhī] also said, 'He who enters the market and sees something he craves but forbears and sacrifices—that is better than a thousand dinars to spend in the way of God.'

A man asked Bishr b. al-Ḥārith [al-Ḥāfī], 'Pray to God for me, for I am afflicted with [the poverty of] my family.' Bishr said to him, 'Whenever your family tells you, "We have neither flour nor bread," pray to God for me then, for your prayer is better than mine!'

He used to say, 'The devout rich man is like a garden on a dunghill, the devout poor man like a pearl necklace on an unblemished beauty.'[38]

They[A] were loath to receive the science of [true] cognisance (*ʿilm al-maʿrifa*) from the wealthy.

Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq (may God be pleased with him) used to say, 'My God, I ask you for humbleness with respect to my soul and abstinence from what surpasses sufficiency.'[39]

If someone like al-Ṣiddīq, in his perfect state, is wary of the world and its existence, how then can one doubt that having no wealth is more appropriate than having it? This holds true even though the best state is for the rich person to gain licitly and to spend well, and despite this, his accounting at the court of the

[A] Early Sufis like Bishr al-Ḥāfī.

Resurrection shall be long, as will his wait. And those called to account will be chastised.[40] This is why ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf was delayed from entering Paradise, being occupied with [giving] account, as the Messenger of God saw.

This is why Abū al-Dardā' said, 'I have no yearning to set up shop at the door of the mosque, failing neither in the ritual prayer nor the invocation and gaining fifty dinars in profit, to boot, only to offer them up as alms in the way of God.' 'What do you dislike about it?' he was asked. 'The severity of the account.'[41]

This is also why Shaqīq [al-Balkhī][42] said, 'The poor have chosen three things and the wealthy three. The poor have chosen tranquillity of the soul, freedom of the heart and lightness of the account. The rich have chosen weariness of the soul, anxiety of the heart and severity of the account.'

Yet, what Ibn ʿAṭā' mentioned about *ghinā*, that it is an attribution of God and accordingly more meritorious, is all true. But only if a person is altogether 'indifferent' (*ghaniyy*) as to the presence or absence of wealth, since both are of equal worth to him. If, however, he prospers from its presence and is in need of its continuance, then his 'indifference' (*ghinā*) cannot compare with the 'indifference' of God. This is because God is 'self-sufficient' (*ghaniyy*) in Himself, not through anything that can cease to exist; and property can cease to exist by theft.[43]

What was proffered by way of reply [to Ibn ʿAṭā']—namely, that God is not 'wealthy' (*ghaniyy*) according to accidents and reasons—is sound when censuring a wealthy person hoping that property will last. But replying that the attributes of God are inappropriate for the human being is unsound. On the contrary, knowledge is one of God's attributes and the most virtuous thing for man to have. Indeed, the highest goal for man is to assume the character traits (*akhlāq*) of God.[44]

I once heard a venerable master say that the ninety-nine Names [of God] become the epithets of the wayfarer on the path to God before he even completes the path. In other words, he has a share in every one of them.[45] Whereas pride is inappropriate for

God's servant. For, being proud with respect to those undeserving of it is not an attribute of God's. For those deserving of it,[46] however, to have pride—such as the pride of the faithful over the unfaithful, the learned over the ignorant, or the obedient over the rebellious—is appropriate. Granted, by pride one intends also haughtiness, vainglory and offence, and these do not figure among the attribution of God Exalted. The attribution of [pride] to God is, rather, that He is greater than everything and that He knows Himself to be so.

Man is charged with[47] seeking the highest level of which he is capable, but by a right which is his, not through falsehood and deception. He is duty-bound to know that the faithful is greater than the unfaithful; the obedient greater than the rebellious; the learned greater than the ignorant; the human being greater than the beast, mineral and plant, being closer to God than they. If he sees this attribute in himself with a sight verified and inspiring no doubt, then the attribute of pride occurs for him, and is both appropriate and a virtue for him. Only, there is no way to its cognisance. For, this [matter] rests with the final end (*khātima*), and he cannot descry what the final end will be and how [well] it accords [with him]. His ignorance of it in this respect demands that he refrain from believing himself to be a rank above the unfaithful. For it may be that the final end of the unfaithful is faith and his own final end faithlessness. Thus, it would be unseemly for him on account of his inadequate knowledge of the consequence (*ʿāqiba*).

When it is possible for one to know the thing as it is in itself, such knowledge is a perfection for the person, because it figures among the attributes of God.[48] When the cognisance of certain things is harmful to him, this cognisance is a deficiency[49] for him, since knowledge that harms is not one of God's attributes.[50] Knowing things that are not detrimental constitutes an attribute of God which is possible for the human being. This is certainly the highest virtue, one in which the prophets, the friends [of God] and the learned (*ʿulamā'*) have excelled.

Consequently, should the presence and absence of money be of equal worth to a person, this would be a type of wealth (*ghinā*) that compares with an aspect of self-sufficiency (*ghinā*) by which God Exalted is described, and hence is a virtue. However, wealth in property has not the least virtue.

This, then, is the exposition of the the state of the 'satisfied poor' relative to the state of the 'grateful rich'.

THE SECOND STATION—[Pertains to] the state of the desirous-poor in relation to that of the desirous-rich. Let us suppose this [station of two states] in a single person, the one who seeks property and sets himself to it, who has no property then finds it. He possesses the states of not owning and of owning property. So, which of these two states is better for him?

We answer with the observation that if what he seeks (*maṭlūb*) is indispensable to his livelihood and, if in availing himself of it, he intends to take the path of religion, then the situation of its presence is better because poverty engages him in the search,[51] and one who searches for sustenance is incapable of reflecting and invoking[A] through anything but a capacity impaired by a preoccupation. He who has enough is the one capable [of reflecting and invoking]. This is why the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) said, 'O God, make the sustenance of the House of Muḥammad sufficient [only for need].'[52] He also said, 'Poverty is almost faithlessness'[53]—that is to say, poverty borne of dire need.

If what is sought either surpasses the need or is commensurate with it, but the intention is not to avail oneself of it for the sake of religion, then a state of poverty is better and more seemly. This is because [rich and poor] here are equally desirous and enamoured of money. They are equal in that neither intends to use money for the sake of religion; they are equal also in that neither engages in transgressions owing to poverty or wealth. They differ, however, in that the person who finds [wealth] becomes familiar with what

[A] *Al-fikr wa'l-dhikr*—that is, on God and His Names.

he has, so his love for it takes hold in his heart and he confides in the world. The needy person who lacks [wealth], on the other hand, shuns the world in his heart, for the world is like a prison from which he seeks escape.[54]

Everything else being equal, when both men depart this world, the one who relied more on the world, his state will no doubt be the worse for it. For his heart is turned to the world and he is alienated from the Hereafter the more confirmed he is in his familiarity with the world.

Said the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace), 'Lo! The Holy Spirit[A] has inspired [this] in me: Love whom you will—you shall part from him.'[55]

This informs us that separation from the beloved is harsh. Hence, you must love the one who never separates from you, namely, God Exalted; and refrain from loving that which does, namely, the world. Loving the world, you are loath to meet God. Hence, in death you move towards what you hate and part with what you love. The pain of the one who parts with a beloved is commensurate with his love for him and commensurate with his familiarity with him. And the familiarity of someone who is adept in the world, availing himself of it,[56] is greater than the familiarity of one who is not, although he may desire the world.

What this inquiry has revealed is that poverty is superior, preferable and more proper for people as a whole, except in two situations. The first situation is indifference (*ghinā*) like that of 'Ā'isha (may God be pleased with her), where presence and absence are equal. Presence would profit the person, because it benefits the poor and the indigent in what they wish for and in all their endeavours. The second situation is poverty with dire need, and this is where poverty is 'almost faithlessness'.[57] In no respect can any good come of it whatsoever, even if the presence [of wealth] preserves his life and he subsequently uses his provision and life for faithlessness and transgressions. Were he to die hungry, his

[A] *Rūḥ al-quds* usually refers to Jibrīl (the Archangel Gabriel) (Zabīdī 294).

transgressions would not be as numerous. It is thus better for him to die hungry with nothing of what he needs.

This, then, is the detailed discussion on wealth and poverty. What remains is to consider both a desirous-poor who is doggedly in search of fortune with no other concern, and a wealthy man less desirous than he to keep the money, and whose distress over the loss of fortune—should he lose it—is not equal to that of the poor man over his loss. This is the point under consideration, that what is most clear is that their distance from God is proportional to the intensity of their distress over the loss[58] of fortune; and their nearness [to Him] is proportional to their distress. However, with God alone is the knowledge of this.

CHAPTER FIVE

An Exposition of the Norms of Propriety of the Poor Person in his Poverty

KNOW THAT for the poor man there are norms of propriety[A] (*ādāb*) to which he must conform in his interior and exterior, his social interaction and activities.

The norm of propriety for his interior is that he should never resent the poverty with which God has afflicted him. I mean that he should not resent God's act, insofar as it is *His* act, even if he should loathe poverty. For example, the person who undergoes cupping may loathe the cupping because of the pain he has to endure, but without loathing the action of the cupper nor the cupper himself. On the contrary, he may accept it as as an act of kindness. This is the lowest degree [of proper conduct] for him,[1] and it is obligatory—its opposite is illicit and foils the reward for poverty. It is what the Prophet meant when he said, 'O concourse of the poor, give to God your heart's contentment, that you may be fully rewarded for your poverty, otherwise you shall not be.'[2]

Higher than this is that he not be loath but content with poverty.

[A] We have translated *ādāb* as 'proprieties'. *Ādāb* (sing., *adab*) refers to the courtesy accorded to God whenever one either speaks about Him (e.g., in an intellectual vein) or seeks to sort out practical matters like those mentioned in this book. This is because every practical endeavour, every approach is said to reflect how one treats God. Ghazālī means exactly this by 'taking the path of religion' in every act. *Dīn* ('religion') in Islam includes norms of conduct, which is considered an act of worship (*'ibādāt*), not just the ritual worship.

Higher still is that he seek poverty and rejoice in it, knowing well the calamities of wealth; that interiorly he place his confidence in God, trusting that He will assuredly provide for him; and that he abhor whatever exceeds sufficiency.

Said ʿAlī (may God honour him fully), 'God punishes through poverty and rewards through poverty. When poverty is a reward, among its signs[3] is that it improves [a person's] character, he obeys his Lord through it, does not protest his lot and thanks God for his poverty. When it is a punishment, its signs[4] are that his character worsens, he offends his Lord by abandoning obedience to Him, he multiplies his grievances and he resents the Decree.'[5]

This indicates that not every poor man is praiseworthy. Only the one who is not resentful but satisfied or happy with poverty is. He is satisfied knowing its fruit. For it is said that no human being is offered something of this world but it is said to him, 'Take it in three parts: toil, care and a lengthy account.'[6]

The propriety for his exterior is that self-restraint (*taʿaffuf*) and self-adornment (*tajammul*) be manifest,[7] and neither complaint or poverty be exhibited. Rather, he should conceal his poverty and conceal that he is concealing it. For in the report, 'God Exalted loves the poor, self-restrained family man.'[8] And God said, *The ignorant man thinks them free of want because of their self-restraint*.[9]

Said Sufyān [al-Thawrī], 'The best of deeds is self-adornment in trial.'[10]

And someone proclaimed that the concealment of poverty is one of the treasures of piety (*birr*).[11]

As to his actions with respect to their propriety, he should not grovel before a wealthy man on account of [the latter's] wealth, but be dignified.[12] Said ʿAlī (may God honour him fully), 'How seemly is the humbleness of the wealthy man before the poor in the desire for reward from God Exalted! But more seemly still is the stateliness of the poor man before the wealthy, trusting in God Almighty and Majestic!'[13]

This is one rank. Below it is that he must not mingle with the rich nor desire their association, for that would be the beginning

of greed. Said Sufyān [al-Thawrī], 'When a poor man mingles with the rich, know that he is a hypocrite. When he mingles with the ruler, know that he is a thief.'[14]

One of those deeply cognisant [of God] (*ʿārifīn*) once said that if the poor man inclines to the rich, he will lose his grip; hanker after them and his innocence will be lost; trust them and he will go astray.[15]

And the poor man must not stop saying the truth just to flatter the rich while desiring a gift.[16]

Regarding the propriety of his actions, he should not slacken in any act of worship on account of poverty.[17] Nor should he refrain from giving away a little of what remains with him, for this is 'the effort of he who has little' (*juhd al-muqill*) and it is worth more than large amounts lavished by the wealthy man.

Zayd b. Aslam related that the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) said, 'For God, it is better to give one dirham in alms than a hundred thousand dirhams.' 'But how can that be, O Messenger of God?' he was asked. His reply, 'A man gave away a hundred thousand dirhams[18] of his wealth as alms. [Another] cheerfully gave away one of two dirhams to his name.[19] Hence, the man of one dirham is better than the man of a hundred thousand.'[20]

[The poor man] should not hoard money but take of it according to need, giving away the rest. Regarding the saving [of money], there are three levels. The first—that of the sincere (*ṣiddiqūn*)—is when he saves [what he needs for] a day and night.[21] The second is when he saves for forty days. Anything surpassing this comes under [the rubric of] 'aspiring to longevity' (*ṭūl al-amal*). The learned scholars have construed this from God's promise to Moses,[A] thereby giving allowance for one to aspire living for forty days. This is the level of the Godfearing (*muttaqīn*).[22] The third is when the person saves for his [whole] year, this being the furthest level and the rank of the upright (*ṣālihīn*). Whoever

[A] Whose time was forty days (Zabīdī 296). Cf. Q.II.51, VII.142.

saves beyond that may be consigned to the rabble, entirely outside the ambit of the special few (*khuṣūṣ*).

Thus, saving by the upright person with little tranquillity in his heart consists of his year's provisions; whereas the saving by the special few is for forty days, that of the few of the few[23] for a day and night.

The Prophet divided his womenfolk along similar lines. He would give a year's supply to some of whatever happened to be available; a forty-day supply to others; and a supply for a day and a night to a third [group], this being the lot of ʿĀ'isha and Ḥafṣa.[24]

CHAPTER SIX

An Exposition of the Norms of Propriety of the Poor Person when Accepting an Unsolicited Offering

THE POOR PERSON should note three things concerning what is offered to him: the money itself, the purpose of the donor and his own purpose in accepting.

The [money] must be lawful and above all suspicion. Should there be any suspicion, the poor person must guard against taking it. In the *Book of the Lawful and the Unlawful*,[A] we have discussed the grades of suspicion, what ought to be avoided and what is best avoided.

Invariably the purpose of the donor is, [one,] to please [the recipient] and endear himself to [the latter], in which case it is a gift; [two, to gain] reward [with God] for giving alms (*sadaqa*) and charity (*zakāt*); [three,] to gain renown, to dissemble or [to build a] reputation; or each [of the above] either on its own or mixed with the other purposes.

The first [purpose]—the gift—may be accepted without objection. Indeed, receiving gifts is in the tradition set by the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace).[1] However, it should not carry any obligation. If it does, it must be

[A] *Kitāb al-ḥalāl wa'l-ḥarām*, Book XIV of the *Revival of the Religious Sciences*, translated by Yusuf T. Delorenzo as *Al-Ghazālī on the Lawful and the Unlawful*, Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 2014.

declined from the outset. Should it be known that part of the gift carries an obligation, one should return part of the whole.

The Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) was once presented with butter, cheese and a ram. He accepted the butter and the cheese, but returned the ram.[2] And he used to accept the gifts of some people and turn down others, saying, 'I am of a mind to receive gifts only from a Qurayshī, a Thaqafī, an Anṣārī or a Dawsī.'[3] Some Successors (*al-tābiʿūn*), too, acted thus.

A bag of fifty dirhams was brought to Fatḥ al-Mawṣilī. He said, "Aṭāʾ[A] reported that the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) said, "He whose livelihood is given without his asking and refuses it refuses it from God."'[4] Therewith, he opened the moneybag, took out one dirham and returned the rest.

Al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī] too related this report, but when a man brought him a bag and a bundle of fine garments from Khurāsān, al-Ḥasan returned it and said, 'Someone who is in this position of mine[B] and accepts something like this from people will meet God Almighty and Majestic on the Day of Resurrection without any share [in the Hereafter].'

This indicates that the acceptance of offerings is of greater moment for the learned and the preacher, though al-Ḥasan used to accept from his companions.[5]

Ibrāhīm [b. Yazīd] al-Taymī used to ask his companions for one or two dirhams, or so, and when others offered him two hundred he did not take them.

When another was given something by a friend, he used to say, 'Leave it with you and observe if, upon receiving it, I would be—in your heart—better than I was before receiving it. Instruct me [then] that I may take it. Otherwise, [I shall] not.'[6] What this suggests is that his refusal, were he to refuse, would grieve him;[C]

[A] According to Zabīdī, Ibn Abī Rabāḥ 'Aṭāʾ' (Zabīdī 297).

[B] He means a position of teaching and invocation (Zabīdī 297).

[C] That is, grieve the donor.

accepting would delight him; and he would feel obligated to his friend for his gift. If he knows that [his friend] would consider it a favour, taking [the amount] would be permissible, though disesteemed by the poor who are truly sincere.

Bishr [al-Ḥāfī] said, 'Never have I asked anyone but Sarī al-Saqaṭī for anything, because to me his abstinence from the world is sound. He rejoices whenever something leaves his possession and is displeased when it remains with him. Therefore, I am one to assist him in what he loves.'[7]

Someone from Khurāsān brought money to Junayd and bade him to spend it on food. Junayd declared he would distribute it among the poor. 'It is not what I wish,' replied [the person].

Said Junayd, 'How long shall I live to spend all this on food!'

'I do not want you to spend it on vinegar and greens, but on sweets and delectables,' the man insisted. This Junayd (God grant him mercy) accepted from him, whereupon the man from Khurāsān said, 'No one[8] in Baghdad has granted me greater favour than you.' Junayd replied, 'And one ought to receive only from the likes of yourself.'[9]

The second [purpose of the donor] is solely for reward [with God], this [in the form of] alms or charity. It is incumbent on the [receipient] to examine his personal attributes[10] as to whether or not he may rightfully receive charity (*zakāt*).[A] If it is unclear for him, then it is open to doubt. We have expounded this in the *Book of the Mysteries of Almsgiving*.[B]

When it is alms (*sadaqa*), given for his religiosity (*li-dīnihi*), let that person examine his interior. If he has yielded secretly to transgression, and knows that, should the donor learn of it, he would be dismayed and would not be drawing near to God with [these] alms, then it would be illicit to take it—just as it would be if the [donor] had given him alms in the belief that [he was giving

[A] There is a legal difference between *zakāt* and *ṣadaqa*, and various interpretations exist regarding who is eligible to receive *zakāt*.

[B] This is chapter v of the *Revival*, *Kitāb asrār al-zakāt*.

it] to either a scholar (*ʿālim*) or an ʿAlīd^A when [in fact] he is not. Without question, taking it would be purely illicit.

Third is when the donor's purpose is reputation, dissemblance and popularity. [The donor's] corrupt intention has to be rejected and acceptance [of the alms] declined; else, [the recipient] would be assisting him in his corrupt purpose.

Sufyān al-Thawrī used to refuse what he was given, saying, 'If I knew they had not boastfully mentioned it, I would have accepted [it].'

One person who was censured for refusing what gifts he used to receive stated, 'I refuse their offering out of compassion for them and as good counsel, because they mention [their act] and long for it to be known.[11] Their fortunes are lost and their rewards thwarted.'[12]

As to the purpose of the poor person in accepting, he must see whether he has a dire need for [the sum][13] or can do without. If he needs it and he is secure from doubt and from the harms we discussed in connection with the donor, then taking it is preferable.

Said the Prophet, 'The well-to-do who gives is not rewarded more than the one who receives when there is need.'[14]

May God bless him and grant him peace said, 'He who obtains anything of property without request and without looking out [for it]—this is a sustenance conveyed to him by God;' and in another version, 'he must not refuse it.'[15]

A learned scholar said, 'He who is given and does not take shall ask and be given not.'

Sarī al-Saqaṭī once dispatched something to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (may God be pleased with them both), who at first refused it. Sarī al-Saqaṭī told him, 'Beware of the danger of refusing, for it is worse than that of taking.' Aḥmad bade him, 'Repeat to me what you said.' He repeated and Aḥmad said, 'I have turned you down only because I have provisions for a month, so keep it with you

^A Someone who assumes the mantle of learning from ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and thus from the Prophet.

for me. If it is still there in a month's time, then send it to me.'[16]

Said one of the learned scholars, 'What is feared about refusing while in need is punishment from an affliction through greed, engagement in something questionable or some such thing.'[17]

The person who receives above what he needs is, perforce, either in a state where he is preoccupied with himself or[18] he is concerned with the affairs of the poor and with providing for them, on account of the kindliness and liberality of his nature. Preoccupied with himself, he would have no reason to take and keep, if he sought the way of the Hereafter, for that would be only to follow the passions. Every act not intended for God is in the path of the devil or invites to it; and he who hovers around what is forbidden is on the verge of falling into it.[19]

Hence, [this kind of recipient] has two stations.[20] One station is when he takes openly and refuses secretly, or takes openly and distributes secretly. This is the station of the sincere. It is exacting for the soul—none can bear it but he whose soul is made tranquil with self-discipline (*riyāḍa*). The second station is when the person declines and refrains from taking, so the owner may spend on someone in greater need than him. Otherwise, he takes and conveys [the donation] to whoever needs it more.[21] He carries out each either secretly or openly. In the *Book of the Mysteries of Almsgiving*, we have considered whether taking is better disclosed or kept hidden, together with some precepts of poverty.[22] So let it be sought in its proper place.

Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal had refused Sarī al-Saqaṭī's gift because, possessing one month's provisions, he had no need of it. Nor did he content himself with being preoccupied with taking it and delivering it to others, because there are risks and dangers in this. Someone who is devout is alert to where the dangers are likely to arise, since he is not inured against the Devil's ruse.

A person among those who sojourn at Mecca (*mujāwirūn*) said,[23] 'I once had money to spend in the way of God, when I heard a poor man who, finishing his circumambulation [of the Kaʿba], murmured, "I am hungry as You see, naked as You see.

What do You see in what You see, You who sees and is not seen?" I looked on—he had two threadbare rags barely covering him. So, I told myself that I shall find nowhere better than this for my money. Therefore, I took it to him.

'He looked at it, took five dirhams and said, "Four is the price of two garments, and one dirham I shall divide threefold and give away. I have no need of the rest," which he returned.'

The narrator went on, 'I saw him the following night with two new garments on him. Something about him troubled me. He turned to me, grasped my hand and took me with him around the Ka'ba seven times, each time with gems from the mines of the earth jangling about our feet up to the ankles—gold, silver, ruby, pearl, jewels. But people could not see this. He said, "All this has been granted to me, though I relinquish it and take from the hands of man, because these [gems] are a burden and temptation, though it be a mercy and a blessing for the people."'[24]

The intention behind this is that whatever is disproportionate to the need will come to you as a trial and temptation, that God may see what you do with it. And in proportion to need it comes to you as a favour. Therefore, never overlook the difference between favour and trial. God said, *What is on earth We have made an ornament for it that We may test them as to who among them is best in conduct.*[25]

Said the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace), 'The Son of Adam is entitled only to three things: nourishment to brace his frame,[A] clothes to cover his nakedness and a house to shelter him. Whatever exceeds these will be accounted for.'[26]

Therefore, you will be requited for taking of these three things according to your need. In anything beyond that, while not an offence against God, you will be called to account. But if you commit offence against God, you will be punished.

Another trial is that you resolve to renounce a pleasure the closer to draw towards God Exalted and to break with the soul's

[A] Lit., to brace his back.

attribute, so it comes to you solely of its own accord, that the power of your mind may be tested through it. Above all, [pleasure] must be resisted. For when the soul has licence to break its resolve, accustoming itself to breaking its vow and returning to its habit, it becomes impossible to gain mastery over it. Therefore, eschewing this is important—and it is abstinence. If you take it[A] and give it to someone needy, then that is the highest abstinence, of which the sincere alone are capable.

If your case is one of liberality and spending, concern for the rights of the poor and looking after a company of the upright, then take more than you need, since that will not exceed what the poor need. So, hurry to it and spend on the poor and do not store it up. Storing it[27] but for a single night is a temptation and a test. It might sweeten in your heart and you might keep hold of it—hence, the temptation.

There are those who have undertaken to serve the poor as a means to self-enrichment and luxuriance in food and drink. This is ruin [for them]. The person whose aim is kindness and who seeks reward for it [from God][28] ought to ask for a loan while counting on (*husn al-zann*)[B] God instead of relying on unjust rulers. So, if God grants him a lawful provision, let him repay it. If he should die before the debt is discharged, then God will settle the debt and satisfy his creditors. This, on condition that the situation had been disclosed to the lender, and that he had not misled the lender nor deceived him with [false] promises, but on the contrary has disclosed his situation to the lender to obtain the loan on a clear understanding. The debt of this man must needs be discharged through the funds of the public treasury and alms money.[29] God has said, *And the man of limited resources—let him spend according to what God has given him.*[30] This is taken to mean 'let him sell one of his two garments.' It is also said to mean 'let him seek a loan for His sake', for this is one of the things God has given him.

[A] In other words, take whatever one is resolved to relinquish.

[B] *Husn al-zann* is to think well of, to trust in.

Someone has said that God has servants who spend according to their supply of merchandise, and [other] servants who spend while counting on God.[31]

A person who lay dying bequeathed his fortune to three groups: the strong (*aqwiyā'*), the generous (*askhiyā'*) and the wealthy (*aghniyā'*). So, it was asked, 'Who are they?' He replied, 'The strong are those who trust in God Exalted; the generous are those who count on[A] God Exalted; the wealthy are those devoted exclusively to God Exalted.'[32]

Therefore, whenever those conditions are met with respect to the recipient, the money and the donor, let that person [in question] take. He has to recognise that what he takes comes to him from God not from the donor. This is because the donor is but a means subordinate to the largesse; whereas he is compelled to it according to what motives, wishes and convictions prevail over him.

It is told that a man invited Shaqīq al-Balkhī and fifty of his friends. So, he laid out a beautiful table, and upon sitting down Shaqīq said to his friends that the man had asked, 'Whoever does not see me as having prepared this food and presented it, my food is forbidden to him.' They all rose and left, save for one youth,[33] who was lower in rank than they. The master of the household asked Shaqīq, 'What did you intend by this?' His answer, 'I wished to put to the test all my companions in their belief in the Oneness [of God].'[34]

Said Moses (peace be upon him), 'O Lord, you have placed this my sustenance in the hands of the Children of Israel.[B] This one gives me a day's [repast] and that gives me the evening [meal].'[C] So, God inspired him thus, 'That is what I do to my Friends (*awliyā'*).

[A] Count on His favour—in keeping with the present context.

[B] 'Israel' was the title given to Jacob and is interchangeable with him, but it was extended to his household. 'Children of Israel' refers strictly to 'the offspring of the Israel, Jacob' and to his ancient descendants.

[C] In allusion to the *hadīth* quoted at the top of Chapter Eight (below).

I bestow their sustenance through the hands of the falsifiers from among My servants that [my Friends] be rewarded therefrom.'[35]

Hence, the donor must be viewed insofar as he is subservient and in the employ of God Exalted. We ask God to grant goodly success, as may please Him.

CHAPTER SEVEN

An Exposition of the Forbiddance of Unnecessary Begging and of the Norms of Propriety of the Poor Person Who Must Beg

KNOW THAT there are many interdictions and strictures regarding begging (*su'āl*). But there is also what suggests permissibility (*rukhṣa*); for the Prophet said, 'The beggar (*sā'il*) has his due even if he were to come on [a high] horse.'[1] And the report, 'Send the beggar back if only with a seared hoof [to eat].'[2]

If solicitation (*su'āl*) were absolutely forbidden (*harām mutlaq*), one would not be permitted to assist the offender in his violation [of the law], since giving is assistance. What is evident in this [matter] is that begging is forbidden in principle, and permissible only under dire need or some grave need akin to it. If there is a way out, however, begging is forbidden. We hold, therefore, that in principle it is forbidden, because it is inseparable from three forbidden things.

The first is the display of complaint against God. Begging is a manifestation of poverty and a reminder that God's provision is insufficient for the person. This is the essence of complaint. And just as the begging of a slave (*al-ʿabd al-mamlūk*) is accusatory for his master, so the begging of God's servant (*ʿabd Allāh*) is accusatory for God. This must be forbidden, not permitted, except under dire need—as when a dead animal becomes permissible [to eat].[A]

[A] That is, an improperly slaughtered animal.

The second is that, with it, the beggar lowers himself before what is other than God. The faithful one ought never to lower himself before what is other than God;[3] he ought instead to lower himself before his Protector (*mawlā*),[A] for in this is his glory. And like him, the rest of the people are mere servants of God; therefore, he must not lower himself save out of dire need and in begging there is humiliation for the beggar with respect to the person solicited.

The third is that [begging] is usually connected to harm for the person solicited, as his soul may not permit giving from the goodness of his heart. If he gives out of shame for the beggar or from hypocrisy, then it is forbidden to the recipient. If he refuses, he may become embarrassed and his soul pained by the refusal, seeing himself as a miser. In giving, his wealth dwindles; in refusing, his prestige diminishes. Both are injurious. The beggar is the cause of the harm, and harm is illicit save under dire need.

Once you understand these three perils [of begging], you will fathom the words of the Prophet, 'Begging from people is among the 'shameful deeds' (*fawāḥish*),[B] the only shameful deed permitted (*uḥilla*).'[4] Observe how he named it 'a shameful deed'. There is no doubt that a shameful deed is allowable under duress, just as wine drinking is allowable for the person who, choking on a piece of bread, can find nothing else.

Said the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace), 'He who begs while having enough increases the embers of Hell [for himself].'[5] 'He who begs while his possessions suffice shall come a clattering skeleton on the Day of Resurrection, with no flesh on him'[6]; and, according to another version, '...his begging will be the graze and toil on his countenance.' These are clear expressions of forbiddance and stricture.

[A] *Mawlā* is derived from *w-l-y*, the same as *walī* (protector, friend, mentor).

[B] *Fawāḥish* (sing. *fāḥisha*) are shameful or immoral acts. The term appears in the Qur'ān four times. Cf. Q.VI.151, VII.33, XLII.37 and LIII.32.

The Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) received a tribe [formally] into Islam and stipulated that they hearken and obey [him]. Then in confidence he gave them word, 'And do not beg people for anything.'[7]

May God bless him and grant him peace frequently commanded self-restraint in begging, saying, 'We shall give to the one who begs; he who desists, God shall provide for him; and he who asks us not is for us most beloved.'[8]

And may God bless him and grant him peace said, 'Free yourselves from people, for being spare in asking—that is better.' When they asked, '[Even] from you, O Messenger of God?' he said, 'And from me.'[9]

ʿUmar [b. al-Khaṭṭāb] overheard a beggar soliciting after [the prayer of] sunset. He told a kin of his, 'Give supper to this man.' So, [his kin] fed the man. Later, [ʿUmar] heard the man begging a second time. 'Did I not tell you to give supper to the man?' he told his kin. 'I did,' said [his kin]. ʿUmar looked at the man,[10] beneath whose arm was a pouch filled with bread. ʿUmar then said, 'You are not a beggar but a trader,' and therewith took the pouch, bestrewed it among the camels intended for charity and gave the man a thrashing, ordering him, 'Do not repeat this!'[11] If the [beggar's] solicitation were not illicit, ʿUmar would not have beaten him and seized his pouch.

A weak jurist with limited scope might distance himself from this action of ʿUmar's and claim: He struck him as a corrective measure—the law provides for chastisement; but his taking of the man's property is confiscation, and the law does not provide for punishment through seizure of property; how then did he deem it permissible?

The source of this[12] distancing from [ʿUmar's] confiscation is a truncated understanding of jurisprudence. How would the understanding of all the jurists put together fare against ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's breadth and his fathoming of the secrets of God's religion and of His servants' welfare? Do you think [ʿUmar] was unaware that confiscation of property was not permitted? Or that

he knew it but boldly made for the man in anger at the disobedience against God? Far be it! Or, that he wished to mete out a punishment for the public's benefit in a different manner from that prescribed by the Prophet of God? How preposterous is that! For this, too, would be disobedience.

Rather, ʿUmar's understanding in this matter was such that he found the man in no need to beg, and he knew that whoever gave him something did so believing that he was in need. But the man had lied. Since his property came into his possession by deceit, and since it was difficult to apportion[13] and return to its owners, as he himself did not know the owners, what property there was belonged to no one. Therefore, it had to be disbursed for public benefit. The camels intended for charity and their provender are such a benefit.

It transpires that the beggar who takes with a false display of need is like the ʿAlīd who takes while falsely claiming, 'I am an ʿAlīd'—for he does not [rightfully] own what he accepts. It is the same with the Ṣūfī or the upright person[14] who is given because of his uprightness but succumbs to disobedience[15] inside, on account of which the donor—should he know of it—would never have given him anything. We have mentioned elsewhere that what they accept in this manner does not belong to them, for it is illicit for them. They must return it to its owner. Therefore, infer from ʿUmar's action the soundness of this interpretation, which many jurists ignore—we have reiterated this elsewhere. Do not infer, in your ignorance of this interpretation, that ʿUmar's action was wrong.

If you concede that begging is permitted under necessity, know that a thing may be either[16] direly needed, required out of a strong (*hāja muhimma*)[A] or weak need, or not needed at all—all told, four states.[B]

[A] Lit., required for an important need.

[B] Zabīdī explains that they add up to three states (what is absolutely needed, what is needed and what is not needed), with two sub-states (the greater and the lesser needs) (Zabīdī 305).

The 'dire need' is what the hungry man fearing death or illness begs for, and what the naked person begs for when his body is exposed and he has nothing with which to cover it. It is permissible whenever the remaining conditions are met regarding the thing requested so long as [what he begs for] is permissible, the solicited person consents inside himself (*bāṭin*) and the beggar is incapable of earning [on his own]. For it behoves no one to beg who can earn but is inactive, unless his time is filled with the quest for knowledge. Still, everyone who can write can earn his keep by transcribing.[A]

Regarding the person who has no need (*mustaghnī*)—namely, the person seeking something when he already has one or more like it—his begging is absolutely forbidden. These two extremes are clear.[B]

Regarding the person with a strong need, he is like someone ill and in need of a remedy who exhibits no dread if he did not use it, but who is [nonetheless] not without fear. [He is also] like someone who has a cloak but no garment underneath it for winter—he suffers from the cold but not to the extent of dire need [for another garment]; likewise the person who begs with the aim of retaining a mount while capable of tramping about without difficulty. All that readily comes under what is licit because it is equally a confirmed need. Yet, patience has more precedence, and by begging he forgoes what has more precedence. His begging is not called reprehensible (*makrūh*) when he is truthful in his soliciting and says, 'Beneath my cloak there is no garment, and while the cold afflicts me [to a degree] I can bear, it is hard for me.' If he is sincere, then his sincerity atones for his begging, God willing.[17]

Regarding the weak need, it is like a person begging for a garment to wear over his clothes outside to hide the holes in his

[A] Cf. Zabīdī 306.

[B] He is referring to the person who is in dire need and the person who has no need at all.

clothes from people's view. It is much like the one who begs for the sake of condiment even though he already has bread; or the one who begs with a view to retaining a horse[18] for the road when he has retained a donkey; or to one who rents a litter[19] when he can do with a riding camel. If this or some such thing involves dissembling a state by displaying another need, then it is forbidden. If it does not but contains any of the three perils—complaint, humiliation and the harm for the person solicited—it is forbidden. This is because a need of this sort can never be right, for then these perils would be permitted. If the need contains none of this, it is permitted but considered reprehensible (*makrūh*).

You may ask how it is possible to extricate begging from these [three] perils. Know that 'complaint' is warded off when gratefulness to God and independence from people are made manifest, and when one does not ask with needful entreaty, but instead declares, 'What I own is enough for me, yet frivolity of soul demands of me a cloth over this my apparel. It exceeds need and is the idle chatter of the soul.' With this, one is unbounded by complaint.

Humiliation is [warded off] when the person asks[20] of his father, relative or friend knowing that this will neither diminish him in their esteem nor [cause him to] be shunned on account of his asking. Or [when he asks] the generous man who has disposed his money for such noble deeds, overjoyed to find someone like him—upon acceptance, he [the generous man] will have been graced with a favour from him, whereupon any abasement will be dissipated. [Otherwise,] humiliation most certainly accompanies (*lāzim*) the favour.

As for harm [to the donor], the way to avoid it is not to single out a specific individual for begging. Rather, he should address himself broadly in such a way that none but a donor who honestly desires to give shall step forth to give. If there is a well-regarded person among the people who might be criticised for not giving, then that would be harmful, for he may give reluctantly for fear of being blamed. Inside, his greatest longing may be to be released, if he could achieve it without incurring blame.

If the beggar solicits a specific individual,[21] *then he must not be explicit, but intimate [his need] by allusion, which leaves the other person a chance to feign inadvertence should he so desire. If [that person] does not feign inadvertence while able to do so, then that would be his wish and he would not be harmed by it.*

The beggar should solicit someone who would not embarrass him should he turn him down or feign inadvertence.[22] For the embarrassment of a beggar is injurious as dissemblance is injurious from someone who is not a beggar.

You may ask whether it is permissible or questionable for one to accept [a gift] in the knowledge that[23] the donor was spurred by embarrassment—from either the beggar or those present—without which he would not have been so forthcoming.[24] My answer is that it is strictly illicit; on this there is no disagreement in the Community (*al-umma*).[A] This verdict is identical to that of confiscating the property of someone, with a beating, because there is no difference between being scourged outwardly on the skin with a cane and being scourged inwardly with shame and fear of blame. But to scourge the heart, inwardly, is a greater wrong to those of understanding.

It is unwarranted to say that outwardly the man has consented.[25] The Prophet declared, 'I judge[26] in respect of outwardness, while God takes charge of the inner thoughts.'[27] This is necessary when judges settle disputes. Having recourse neither to things hidden nor to the juncture of circumstances, judges are compelled to rule according to the word [uttered] extrinsically by the tongue. As untruthful an interpreter as the tongue frequently is, it is necessary to resort to it. [The rest] lies between the servant and God, and He who judges is the *Best of Judges*.[28] Hearts are to God what tongues are to all other judges. For these matters, then, look to your own heart even if they yield one legal prescription (*fatwā*)

[A] Namely, all the legal schools agreed on it.

after another for you.[29] For the *muftī*[A] is teacher to the judge and to the ruler, that they may adjudicate in the visible world. *The muftīs of [what lies in] the hearts are those learned in the Hereafter. For, their legal prescriptions spare one*[30] *the [decisive] intervention of the Ruler of the Hereafter, just as the prescriptions of the jurist (faqīh) is a deliverance from*[31] the sway of the worldly ruler.

What is reluctantly given to [the beggar] who takes it,[32] therefore, between him and God is not his to own. He is obliged to return it to its owner. If the latter is too embarrassed to reclaim it and does not do so, [the beggar] must repay him for it in the form of a gift and compensation of equal value, so as to extricate himself from the obligation. If the man will not accept his gift, the recipient must yield it to his heirs. If the property is damaged in his possession, then he is liable for it before God. And he commits a transgression both with his disposal of it and the begging that brought about the injury.

You may aver, 'This is an obscure matter, difficult to fathom: how may one be released from [the obligation]?[33] For, the beggar may believe that [the donor] is content [to give] when he in himself is not content.'

I say: this is why the godfearing (*muttaqīn*) forgo begging summarily, for in principle they take nothing from anyone. In principle, Bishr [al-Hāfī] took only from Sarī [al-Saqaṭī],[34] saying, '...[only] because I know he is overjoyed that money is leaving his hand; and so, I assist him in what he loves [to do].' Begging is greatly disapproved of and the command[35] to abstain is due to this [injury in it]. [This is because] injury is permitted [only] in dire need—namely, when the beggar[36] is in the throes of ruin, and no way of escape remains for him, and he finds no one who will give him without hesitation and injury. He would then be permitted this, just as he would be allowed to consume the flesh of swine and of improperly slaughtered animals.[37] Abstinence though is the way of the pious.

[A] A legal scholar with sufficient knowledge of the law to be qualified to issue *fatwā*, a word derived from the same root as the name for the office of '*muftī*'.

Among the people [who see] the hearts [of things] are those who, with their insight (*baṣīra*), are confident in understanding the circumstances of a situation. They are wont to take from certain people and not from others. Some take only from friends, others only a part of what they are offered, returning the rest—as did the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) in the case of the ram, butter[38] and cheese. All this comes to them without asking and is given only voluntarily. However, the donor may hanker[39] after status and seek admiration and fame. Consequently, [those who see the hearts of things] are on guard against this. They summarily refrain from begging, except in two situations:

One is dire need. Three among the prophets asked in a situation of need: Solomon, Moses and Khidr.[40] There is no doubt that[41] they asked only of those they knew were willing to give.

Two is asking from friends and brethren. [Those who see the hearts of things] were wont to take from each other's possessions without request or petition, knowing well that the object is the contentment of the heart rather than the expression of the tongue. They used to have confidence that their friends were glad of their overture. They only asked the brethren of whose ability [to give] they were unsure; otherwise they dispensed with asking [and took what they needed].

The limitation on asking [before taking] lies in your knowledge that had the person solicited known of your need, he would have come forth without [your] asking. Thus your asking would have had no effect beside informing him of your need, but not in moving him with shame or instigating him through trickery.

The beggar may meet a state where there is no doubt that [the donor] is inwardly content [to give], and another situation where there is no doubt that there is displeasure. This he knows according to the circumstances. Acceptance in the former state is completely licit, in the second clearly illicit. Between[42] these two states are states of which he may be doubtful. Let him then consult his heart in this and renounce that from which his heart shrinks back, for it is sin; let him put aside that which he doubts

for that which he does not doubt.[43] Reaching [what he doubts not] according to circumstances is easy for someone strong in perspicacity but weak in avarice and appetite. When the avarice is strong and the perspicacity weak, whatever agrees with the person's aim will seem right, but the person will not discern those circumstances that signify disapproval.

It is through such subtleties that one may descry the secret of the Prophet's words, 'The best that a man consumes is from what he has earned'[44]—for he had been granted 'all words joined [by their inner meaning]' (*jawāmiʿ al-kalim*).[A45] This is because he who does not earn [a living], nor is heir to his father's or a relative's wealth,[46] lives off other people.[B] If he is given without asking, he is given 'for his religion'.[C] When his interior is such that, should it be disclosed, he would not have been given 'for his religion'; then whatever he accepts is unlawful. When given out of begging,[47] how often is the heart of the solicited person content to give? And, how many are those who restrict themselves to begging out of dire need only?

Therefore, if you scrutinize the affairs of those who live off other people, you will know that all or most of what they consume is illicit. What is good is what you have legally earned yourself or what your legator legitimately gained.[48] Consequently, scrupulousness is unlikely to be joined to living off others. We beseech God to curtail our craving for what is other than Him, to avail us of what He has made lawful, to release us from what He has forbidden and to give us by His favor and His bounty and grand benevolence.[49] For He is all-powerful in what He wills.

[A] The epithet *jawāmiʿ al-kalim* was conferred on the Prophet according to the traditions, which recount how God favoured him over the previous prophets with six things, *jawāmiʿ al-kalim* being the first.

[B] Lit., eats from the hands of people.

[C] Given because he appears to be acting in the path of religion.

CHAPTER EIGHT

An Exposition of the Amount of Wealth which Renders Begging Illicit

KNOW THAT the Prophet's words—'He who begs with wealth in his possession begs for fiery coals: let him then desist from it or let him increase it'[1]—are clear in their interdiction.[A] However, the limitation on wealth is problematic and its valuation difficult. It is not for us to set the amounts—that is settled through the evidence.[B]

A tradition reports, 'Make do with [what] wealth God [provides] over [that of] another.'[2] So, [people] asked, 'And what is that?' [The Prophet] answered, 'The day's repast and the evening meal.'[3] In another report, 'He who begs with fifty dirhams or its equivalent in gold in his possession does so importunely'—in a different version, it is forty dirhams.[4] Whenever the valuations differ and the reports are sound they must be declared exactly as they are found in their respective cases. Yet truth in itself can only be one; therefore, valuation is precluded—at most, it is possible merely as an approximation. This may be achieved only by way of a division that encompasses the cases of those who are in need. Therefore, we say with the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace), 'The Son of Adam is entitled to only

[A] That is, clear in their interdiction of begging.

[B] Through the evidence of the Revealed Law (Zabīdī 309). *Tawqīf* here implies *naṣṣ* (*Lisān al-ʿArab* x.360-61).

three things: nourishment to brace his frame, clothes to cover his nakedness and a house to shelter him. Whatever exceeds these will be accounted for.'[5]

Therefore, let us take these three [things][6] as fundamental needs with a view to elucidating their types and for the study of types (*ajnās*), quantities (*maqādīr*) and times (*awqāt*).

The types then consist of the three [aforementioned things].[A] They denote what they subsume, such as the mount retained by a traveller unable to walk. The same holds for what strong [needs] he may have and beyond his person to his family, his child and everyone under his protection—beasts included.

As for quantities, clothing is assessed according to what is meet for a person of religion—namely, a single garment, vesture, kerchief, trousers and shoes. A person need not own two[7] of every kind. Let him regulate all the home furnishings in the same manner.[8] He must not seek fine apparel, nor vessels made of copper or brass when he can do with earthenware, for he has no need of them. He should limit himself to one [item of each] in number and to the least expensive of its kind,[9] so long as this does not depart excessively from habit. With respect to food, the amount per day is one *mudd*,[B] as prescribed by religious law. The kind of food is whatever sustains him, even if it be barley. While condiment always would be surfeit, its total omission may be unhealthy. Seeking it on occasion is admissible. Finally, the dwelling, [should be] the smallest possible in size and this without finery. To beg for finery and roominess is to beg precisely while possessing wealth.

In relation to the times, [the limit] is what food is currently needed for one day and one night, the clothes one wears and the retreat that shelters one—this goes without question. As to begging for the future, there are three levels. First, what is needed for the morrow; second, what is needed for forty or fifty days;

[A] That is, nourishment, clothes and a house .

[B] A *mudd* is a dry or cubic measure of about one litre (Gramlich 450); cf. Allouche, *Mamluke Economics* 87.

and third, what is needed for a year. Let us reaffirm that begging by someone with enough for himself and his family—if he has one—for one year is illicit, this being the upper limit of provision. The valuation of fifty dirhams, as found in the reports, is meant for him. Five dinars ought to suffice a man on his own for a year, if he is frugal, though this may not suffice the provider for a family. But if he should need [money] before year's end and, not one to miss an opportunity[10] he is able to beg, his begging is not permitted because he currently has enough.[A] For he may not live till morning and will then have asked for what he does not need."[11] The day's repast and the evening meal are enough for him. It is about him that the account which mentions an amount of this value speaks.[12]

But if he misses the opportunity to beg and may find no one to give him should he delay, then begging is permissible for him, because it is not untoward to expect survival for a year. He may fear that delaying the begging may make him fall into dire need, unable [to receive] help from anyone.[13] However, when the fear of being unable to beg in the future is weak, and that for which he begs is outside the bounds of necessity, begging is not without disapproval. Its disapproval depends on the degree of weakness of the need, the fear of losing [an opportunity] and the protracted period before the person will need to beg.[14]

None of this admits of precision. It is conditional on the effort (*ijtihād*) of the servant The servant's circumspection is entirely between himself and God. So, let him consult his heart in this and act accordingly, if he is to tread the path of the Hereafter.[15] The stronger one's certainty, the more complete one's confidence that sustenance will be provided in the future, and the more manifest his satisfaction with the provisions to hand, the higher is his ranking with God. For when God gives you and your family your daily sustenance, the fear for the future is due only to the lack of certainty and to attention [given] to the Devil's intimidations.

[A] Zabīdī gives a breakdown of expenses (Zabīdī 310).

God has said, *Fear them not, but fear Me, if ye are faithful*;[16] and *The Devil threatens you with poverty and bids you to commit abhorrent acts, while God promises you His forgiveness and bounty*.[17]

Begging is a shameful deed (*fahshā'*) that is nevertheless permissible when necessary. The case of the person who begs because of a need beyond his [requirement] for the day, but not beyond his requirement within the year, is greater than that of the person who owns money he inherited and stores it for a want that may last beyond a year. Both are permitted[18] according to the outer meaning of the legal prescription; yet they emanate from a desire for the world, long expectation for the future and a lack of trust in God's bounty. This disposition is one of the sources of ruin (*muhlikāt*).[A] We ask God, then,[19] for the best of guidance through His kindness and munificence.

[A] In the *Revival*, the *muhlikāt* make up a quarter of the book from chapter XXI to chapter XXX. In this context, it has been translated as the Quarter of the Moral Vices (*rubʿ al-muhlikāt*).

CHAPTER NINE

An Exposition of the States of Those Who Beg

BISHR [AL-ḤĀFĪ] used to say, 'The poor are of three [types]: [first,] the poor person who does not ask and when offered does not take, this [person] is with the spiritual ones (*rūḥāniyyīn*) who are at 'the Highest Places' (*'illiyyūn*);[1] [second,] the poor person who does not ask but if offered takes, this [person] is with those near [to God] (*muqarrabīn*) in the 'Gardens of Paradise';[2] and [third,] the poor person who asks when in need and he is with the sincere (*ṣādiqīn*) among the People of the Right [Hand].'[3]

Hence, they all agree that begging is blameworthy and that, [even] when in need,[4] it lowers both level and rank.

Ibrāhīm b. Adham asked Shaqīq al-Balkhī,^ having come to him from Khurāsān, '[How] have you left the poor among your companions?' The latter answered, 'I have left them such that when given they offer thanks and when denied they endure'—thinking that by describing them as having renounced begging he was lauding them most highly.[5] So Shaqīq said, 'That is how I left our dogs in Balkh.' Ibrāhīm then asked, 'And how are the poor with you, O Abū Isḥāq?' 'When the poor with us are denied, they are thankful, when offered they give away.' Thereupon, he kissed his head, saying, 'Master, truthful have thou been.'[6]

^ Ghazālī probably reversed the roles here; Ibrāhīm is more likely the one who questioned Shaqīq (Zabīdī 311-10).

Consequently, the rankings of the 'possessors of states' (*arbāb al-aḥwāl*)^ in 'contentment' (*riḍā*), 'patience' (*ṣabr*), 'gratitude' (*shukr*) and 'solicitation' (*su'āl*) are sundry. Everyone who walks the path of the Hereafter must know [these rankings], their divisions, differences and degrees. If he has no knowledge of them, he will not be able to rise from[7] their lowlands to their summits,[8] from the basest of places to the highest of the High Places. For Man was created with the finest form, returned to the basest of places,[9] and thereupon commanded to rise to the highest of the High Places. Anyone who fails to distinguish between top and bottom could never make his ascent;[10] and anyone who knows but doubts may be incapable of it.

The 'possessors of states' can be dominated by a state whereby begging raises their level, albeit relative to their actual state.[11] This is similar to 'actions are dependent on intentions'. It was related, for instance, that someone saw Abū al-Ḥasan al-Nūrī[12] (God grant him mercy) on occasion stretch out his hand and beg from people. The man said, 'I thought it grave and, for him, demeaning. So I went to Junayd (God grant him mercy) and informed him of it. He told me, "Think nothing of this, for Nūrī begs from people in order to give them. He begs from them that they may be requited in the Hereafter.[13] They are thus rewarded without harm to himself."'[14]

It is as if by this [Junayd] had pointed to the words of the Prophet: 'The hand of the giver is the most elevated.'[15] And someone else said that the hand of the giver is but the hand of he who receives the money, because [he who receives] gives a reward. Therein lies the value, not in what he receives.[16]

'Junayd then said,' [continued the man,] '"Bring the scale," and he weighed one hundred dirhams. After this, he clasped a handful and tossed it with the hundred, saying, "Take it to him." I thought to myself that he had weighed the thing to know its worth, so how could he, a wise man, compound it with an unknown [quantity]?

^ Namely, the Sufis.

'I was too abashed to ask him and took the pouch to Nūrī,[17] who said to bring a scale. He weighed one hundred dirhams and told [me], "Return this to him and tell him I take nothing from you."[18] He took what exceeded the one hundred [dirhams].

'My astonishment grew, so I queried him. He answered, "Junayd is a wise man. He wants to take the rope by both ends. He weighed the hundred for himself, seeking the reward of the Hereafter, and threw in a handful without weighing it, for the sake of God (Almighty and Majestic). So, I took what was God's (Blessed and Exalted) and returned what he had assigned for himself."'

The man added, 'I returned it to Junayd, who wept, saying, "He took what is his and returned what is ours. To God alone do we turn for help."'[19]

Behold now how their hearts and states are pure and how their works are dedicated to God to the extent that each one[20] sees the heart of the other without any communication through the tongue, but only through the vision of the heart and unuttered exchanges. This is a consequence of consuming [only] what is lawful, of freeing the heart from love of this world and of turning towards God with utmost determination.

Whoever gainsays this before trying the Path (*tarīq*) is as ignorant as, say, the one who denies that a remedy is a purgative before even drinking; or the one who denies this after long pains—having given it his best effort without success—and then denies it to another. He is like someone who drinks the purgative but, in his case, it is ineffective because of the ailment inside him; and so, he takes to denying that the remedy is a purgative. The latter, while less ignorant than the former, is not without his ample share of ignorance.[21]

On the other hand, a person of insight (basīr) can be one of two. He may either tread the Path and there appears to him what appears to others, in which case he possesses direct experience (dhawq) and cognisance, having reached the 'essence of certainty' ('ayn al-yaqīn). Or, he is a man who does not tread the Path, or treads it but has yet to arrive, though he has faith and believes in it.

He thus possesses the 'knowledge of certainty' (*'ilm al-yaqīn*) even if he has not reach the essence of certainty. The knowledge of certainty, too, has a rank (*rutba*) even if it should fall short of the essence of certainty. Whoever is devoid of both the knowledge and the essence of certainty lies outside the body of the faithful, and will be gathered on the Day of Resurrection with the throng of the deniers and the arrogant, casualties of weak minds[22] and followers of the fiends.

Let us then ask God to make us *firmly grounded in knowledge*, uttering, *We have faith in [the Book]; it is all from our Lord, though none shall bear it in mind save men of understanding*.[23]

PART II

ON ABSTINENCE

This section elucidates the following: an exposition of the reality of abstinence; an exposition of the excellence of abstinence; an exposition of the degrees and divisions of abstinence; an exposition of the details concerning abstinence in food, dress, shelter, furnishings and the necessities of life;[1] an exposition of the sign[A] of abstinence.

[A] Ghazali uses the singular here but in the chapter below he uses the plural 'signs'.

CHAPTER TEN

An Exposition of the Reality of Abstinence

KNOW THAT abstinence from this world is one of the eminent stations of the [spiritual] wayfarer (*sālikīn*).[A] This station comprises knowledge (*ʿilm*), state (*hāl*) and action (*ʿamal*)—much as the rest of the stations—because the doors of faith (*imān*), as the First Generations have said, all refer back to [formal] commitment (*ʿaqd*), word (*qawl*) and action (*ʿamal*).[1] Here, 'word' replaces 'state' by virtue of its visibility—the interior state is manifested through it. Otherwise, word itself is not what is intended. And if [action] does not stem from a state, then it should be called 'submission [to God]' (*islām*), not 'faith' (*īmān*).[2] Knowledge is cause with regard to the state in the manner of 'productive [of]' (*muthmir*); whereas action flows from[3] a state, like a product. Let us then consider the state and its two sides[B]—knowledge and action.

By 'state' we intend[4] what is called 'abstinence' (*zuhd*), which consists in turning away the desire for a thing towards something better. Whoever forgoes a thing for something else by way of exchange, purchase or some other [method] does so because of a lack of desire for it. And whoever turns to something else does so because of a desire for that thing. Thus, a person's state

[A] According to Makkī, abstinence is the sixth station of certitude; he made no mention of poverty (Zabīdī 317).

[B] That is, causally as with a producer and its product.

with respect to what he has forgone is called 'abstinence'; with respect to what he has turned to, it is called 'desire' (*raghba*) and 'love' (*ḥubb*).

Therefore, the state of abstinence requires: 'what is undesirable' (*marghūban ʿanhu*) and 'what is desirable' (*marghūban fih*), which is better than what is undesirable.

The condition for 'what is undesirable' is that [the thing] be desired in some respect, for someone who does not desire what in itself is undesirable cannot be said to abstain.[5] Someone who renounces earth, rock and insects[6] is not said to be an abstainer (*zāhid*). He is called an abstainer who gives up dirhams and dinars—earth and rock are not where desire is likely to dwell.

The condition for 'what is desirable' is that [a thing] be better for [the person] than what is spurned so as to [let] this desire prevail. Thus, a seller would not go forward with a sale unless what he received in exchange was better for him than what was to be sold. With respect to what was sold, his case would be one of abstinence; with respect to what was [received] in return,[7] it would be one of desire[8] and love.

This is why God Exalted has said, *And they sold him*[A] (sharawhu) *for a pittance, a few dirhams, and they were of those who relinquished him* (zāhidīn).[9] That is, they sold him, for *shirā'* is employed here in the sense of selling,[B] and Joseph's brothers were described as having relinquished him because they desired their father's countenance for themselves, and that was dearer to them than Joseph.[10] They sold him hoping for a return.

Now, everyone who sells the world for the Hereafter abstains (*zāhid*) from the world; everyone who sells the Hereafter for the world is equally an abstainer, albeit from the Hereafter. However, it is customary to reserve the term 'abstainer' (*zāhid*)[C] for someone who abstains from the world, just as the term 'infidelity' (*iltiḥād*)

[A] That is, Joseph.

[B] *Shirā'* usually means 'purchase' and *bayʿ* sale.

[C] Or 'ascetic'.

designates someone who is especially inclined towards falsehood, though the inclination be only verbal.

When abstinence is a total spurning of what is held dear, it is inconceivable without embracing something even dearer. Whoever spurns everything but God, even the Gardens of Paradise, and loves only God is an 'absolute abstainer' (*zāhid mutlaq*). Whoever spurns every good fortune to be had in this world but does not abstain from similar good fortunes in the Hereafter—indeed longs for houris,[A] palaces, streams and fruits—he, too, is an abstainer, though lower than the first one. Whoever forsakes some good fortunes in the world but not others, like the one who forsakes wealth but not status, or who gives up sumptuous eating but not beautifying with ornaments, does not deserve to be called abstainer, in principle. His ranking among the abstainers is that of the person who, from among the repenters, repents some transgression. This abstinence is sound, just as repenting of some transgression is sound. Repentance (*tawba*) consists in forsaking that which is interdicted; whereas abstinence consists in forsaking the permitted things allotted to the soul. It is not unthinkable that a person could forsake some permitted things but not others; the same goes for interdicted things. Whoever limits his forsaking to interdictions cannot be called an abstainer, though he abstains and turns away from what is interdicted. All in all, common usage reserves this term for the permitted things that are forsaken.[11]

Abstinence then consists in spurning this world and turning towards the Hereafter, or away from all besides God and towards Him. This is the highest rank. Just as 'what is desirable' is conditional on it being better for the person, so 'what is undesirable' is conditional on one's capacity [to forsake it]. For, to forsake what one is incapable [of forsaking] is impossible. With forsaking transpires the cessation of desire. This is why, when addressed as 'O Abstainer,' Ibn al-Mubārak answered,[12] 'The abstainer is ʿUmar b.

[A] Ar., *ḥūr*.

'Abd al-'Azīz, for the world came to him without his asking and he forsook it. But I, what have I renounced?'[13]

The knowledge which produces (*muthmir*) this state is knowledge of the fact that what is forsaken is base compared to what is received—for example, the merchant's knowledge that the return is better than what is sold, hence his desire for it. Before this knowledge is realized there can be no desire to sell.[14] Likewise when one knows that *what is with God endures* and *that the Hereafter is better and more enduring*[15]—in other words, it is better in itself and more enduring because of its pleasures, just as jewellery is better and more enduring than snow, by way of example. One who owns snow would hardly trouble himself to trade it for jewellery and pearls. It is the same with the world and the Hereafter. The world is like snow beneath the sun—it keeps melting until it disappears. The Hereafter is like a jewel, which perishes not.

The stronger the certainty and knowledge of how the world and the Hereafter differ, the greater the desire for selling and transaction, until the one whose certainty is strong [enough] sells both person and property—as when God says, *God has purchased of the believers their persons and their goods, for theirs is the Garden* [*of Paradise*].[16] God then shows their bargain to be profitable and says, *Rejoice then in the bargain you have made.*[17]

All the knowledge required for abstinence is this, that *the Hereafter is better and more enduring.*[18] Even the person incapable of forsaking the world—either because his knowledge and certainty are weak, or because he is presently overwhelmed by appetite, vanquished under the sway of the Devil—knows it. He is beguiled by the Devil's promises, he defers day after day until death wrenches him away. When it is too late nothing but sorrow will remain for him.[19]

God's words apprise of the worthlessness of this world, *Say: 'Short is the enjoyment of this world'.*[20] And God's words signify the preciousness of the Hereafter, *But those who had been granted knowledge said, 'Alas for you, the reward of God is best!'*[21] God indicates that

knowledge of the preciousness of a substance is what causes a lack of desire for anything else.

Thus, abstinence is unthinkable without exchange and without renouncing what is held dear for what is dearer still. A man offered the prayer, 'God, show me the world as You see it.' The Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) said to him, 'Never say [it] like this, but rather: Show me the world as You have shown it to the upright (*sālihīn*) among Thy servants.'[22] This is because God regards it as base, exactly as it is. Every created being is base compared to His majesty. Each person sees the world as base in relation to what is better for him. It is unthinkable, for example, that someone who buys a horse should regard it as he would the insect on the ground, however much he may dislike his horse. This is because he can always do without the insects—not so the horse. God in Himself has no need of anything but Himself. Therefore, He sees everything *in one stroke* in relation to His majesty; He sees everything *in its differentiation* in relation to what is other than Him.[A] The abstainer sees his distinctiveness in relation to himself rather than to an other.

Now, the action to which the state of abstinence gives rise consists of a single [act] of renunciation and taking,[23] because it is the sale, transaction and exchange of what is dear for the insignificant.[B] Just as the act issuing from the contract of sale is a relinquishment of the [object] sold, a loss of ownership and an acceptance of compensation, so abstinence demands that the object abstained from—namely, the entire world with all its ties, provisions and attachments—be wholly relinquished. This evicts the love for it from the heart and gives entrance to the love of pious deeds (*tā'āt*). It removes from the eye and the hand what has

[A] On the one hand, God sees everything as a single whole under the Majesty of the *One* Supreme Being; on the other, He sees differences in relation to His created beings, which admit of *multiplicity*, unlike Him since there is no multiplicity or differentiation in His oneness.

[B] That is, insignificant relative to the Hereafter.

been evicted from the heart, and dispenses tasks to the hand, eye and remaining members. Otherwise, one would be like the person who hands over the item sold without receiving its price.

So, if he fulfils the two sides stipulated—taking and relinquishing—let him rejoice at the sale of whatever he is selling, his obligation having been fulfilled by what he will have sold. To the person who delivers the stock without immediate remittance and, delivering it, takes steps to request what is yet to be remitted shall, for his pains, be handed over his due—assuming the party to the contract could be relied on to be sincere, capable and faithful to the agreement.

Therefore, as long as a person holds on to the world, his abstinence is by no means truly sound. This is why God did not attribute abstinence to Joseph's brothers in Benjamin's [case], although they were wont to say, Joseph *and* his brother [Benjamin] *are dearer to our father than we.*[A24] They resolved to be rid of Benjamin, as they did with Joseph, until someone pleaded on his behalf and he was released.[25] Nor did God attribute to them abstinence in Joseph's [case] when they resolved to send him away, but only at the time of delivery and sale.

Therefore, the mark of desire is to withhold (*imsāk*) and that of abstinence to renounce (*ikhrāj*). So, if you renounce part of what you possess of the world but not the other, you abstain only in respect of what you have renounced, but you are not an 'absolute abstainer'. If you have no money and the world is of no avail to you, it would be impossible for you to relinquish [anything], since what lies beyond one's capacity cannot well be given up. The Devil may lure you with his deception, letting you imagine that while the world had not been given to you, you are nevertheless abstaining from it. You must not dangle by the rope of his deception, but seek succour or confidence in God's inviolate pledge.

^ The reason is that the Qur'ānic verse mentioned above says they asked little for Joseph but not for Benjamin. And yet, the Qur'anic verse here states that both Joseph and Benjamin *are dearer to our father than we*.

For if you do not test [your] capacity, do not assume that you have the capacity to relinquish. How many a man has presumed his own abhorrence[26] of sins when such sins were unlikely to be committed, and then,[27] his access facilitated and with not a vexation or a fear of people, he plunges [headlong into sin].

If such is the deception of the soul with respect to interdictions, then beware of the soul's promises in the things permitted! The firm pledge to which you ought to bind [the soul] is that you try it again and again while you have the power. If it consistently makes good its promise unaccompanied by external or inner digressions and excuses, then there is no reason for you not to place some trust in it. All the same, in view of its vacillations, you ought to be cautious, for it is swift to abdicate commitment and ever-nigh to returning to the demands of natural disposition. On the whole, one is secure from it only upon relinquishment of what was relinquished—this, depending on capacity.

Said [Qāḍī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān] Ibn Abī Laylā [al-Anṣārī] to [Qāḍī ʿAbd Allāh] Ibn Shubruma [b. al-Ṭufayl b. Ḥassān],[28] 'What think you of this weaver's son?[29] No sooner do we pass a legal prescription than he refutes it!' He meant Abū Ḥanīfa. Ibn Shubruma answered, 'I had not been aware that he was the son of a weaver or what he was, but I only know that the world offered itself to him and he fled from it. Whereas the world has fled from us and we went after it.'[30]

Likewise, the Muslims in the lifetime of the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) all said, 'We love our Lord. Were we to learn of His love of anything we would act on it [immediately].' So much so, God revealed, *If We had commanded them to sacrifice themselves or to leave their homes, but a few of them would have done so*.[31] Said Ibn Masʿūd (may God be pleased with him), 'The Messenger of God told me, "You are among them"—that is, among the few.' [Ibn Masʿūd] said, 'I had not known that there were among us those who loved the world until God revealed: *And among you is he that desires the world and he that desires the Hereafter*.'[32]

Know that abstinence is not relinquishing and spending money by way of generosity and noble-mindedness in order to win over hearts and for ambition. These are all worthy habits, but none of them is admissible as acts of piety. Abstinence consists in your relinquishing the world, knowing well that it is base when compared to the preciousness of the Hereafter. Hence, every kind of relinquishing is conceivable also for someone who does not believe[33] in the Hereafter.[A] And in this case, it may be gallantry, noble-mindedness, generosity and good nature, but it is not abstinence. For, to be well thought of and to be loved are among the things with which we are fortuned in this life, and they are more delightful and salutary than money. Just as giving up money as an advance, in desire for a return, is not abstinence, so is giving it up for renown, praise and the gaining of a reputation for noble-mindedness and generosity. Similarly, deeming [money] burdensome due to the hardship and vexation in keeping it, and the toil and need to abase oneself before rulers and the rich [for its sake]. None of this is truly abstinence, but rather a rush towards yet another self-gain.

Indeed, the abstainer is one to whom the world comes unbidden, without him seeking it, and he is able to enjoy it without any loss of prestige or any disrepute and without passing up any of his share. But he relinquishes the world, fearing that he might become intimate with it and thus with what is other than God, or that he might love something other than God—thus associating another with the love of God Exalted. Or, he might give it up in desire for reward from God in the Hereafter, thus surrendering the enjoyment of drink in this world for the enjoyment of

[A] This is a standard argument at the time which, while separating a mental state like believing from actual conduct, is nonetheless designed to reaffirm the superiority of conducting oneself with a view to the Hereafter. It simply states that worldly pursuits will not procure rewards that can sustain human beings for long, and that living for the sake of the Hereafter, allowance given to all the distinctions Ghazālī makes in this book, takes one much farther.

drink in the Garden, surrendering the enjoyment of concubines and women for the wide-eyed houris,[34] surrendering the gazing upon arbours for the arbours and trees of the Garden; surrendering embellishment and adornment with the ornaments of this world for those of the Garden; surrendering delectable foods for the fruits of the Garden, and dreading that it be said, *You received your [share of] good things in your worldly life and took pleasure in them.*[35] He thus prefers the totality of what he is promised in the Garden to what comes easily to him in this world without the asking; this, by virtue of his knowledge that what is in the Hereafter is 'better and more enduring'. Everything else is but worldly transaction, of no avail whatsoever in the Hereafter.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

An Exposition of the Excellence of Abstinence

GOD HAS SAID, *And he went forth unto his people in his fineries,*[1] up to *...and said those who are granted knowledge, 'Woe to you! God's reward is better for those who believe'*[2]—thereby relating abstinence to the learned and ascribing knowledge to those [who abstain]. This is the greatest commendation.

God said, *Twice will they be given their reward for what they have borne with patience.*[3] In exegesis, this is said to be abstinence in this world.

God said, *We have made what is on Earth an embellishment for it that We may try them as to which of them are best in deed.*[4] This is said to mean 'which of them abstain the most in it'. So, [God] describes abstinence as among the best of deeds.

God said, *Any who desires the harvest of the Hereafter, his harvest shall We increase; any who desires the harvest of this world, We shall give him of it but he will have no portion in the Hereafter.*[5]

And God said, *Set not your sights upon what parties of them we have given enjoyment, the splendour of the life of this world, that We may test them. Your Lord's provisions are better and more enduring.*[6]

Said He, *...those who love the life of this world more than the Hereafter.*[7] The faithless (*kuffār*) are ascribed this, and implicit in this is that the faithful (*mu'min*) is he who is ascribed its opposite—namely, that he loves the Hereafter more than the life of this world.

As to the Traditions [of the Prophet] (*akhbār*), condemnation of this world abounds in them. We have mentioned some of them

in the *Book of Condemnation of the World* in the Quarter of the Ruinous Vices, since love of this world is a ruinous vice.[A] Here, we shall limit ourselves to the excellence of loathing this world, for it is a saving virtue[B] and what is intended by abstinence.

Said the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant peace), 'He who rises in the morning and his concern is the world, God shall strew about his affair, scatter what he seeks after and set his poverty before his very eyes. He will gain nothing of this world save what has been foreordained for him. He who rises in the morning and his concern is the Hereafter, God shall unify his endeavour, protect for him what he seeks after and make him rich of heart, and the world shall come to him unbidden.'[8]

Said God's Messenger, 'If you see that a servant of God has been granted silence and abstinence in this world, approach him, for he has been granted wisdom (*hikma*).'[9]

Said God, *He who has been granted wisdom has indeed been granted much good.*[10] This is why it is said that anyone who abstains from the world for forty days will be rewarded by God with sources of wisdom in his heart, and in wisdom shall his tongue speak.[11]

A Companion narrated, 'We asked, "O Messenger of God, who is the best of all people?" [The Messenger of God] replied, "Every faithful one clear of heart, truthful in speech."

'We asked,[12] "O Messenger of God, and who is clear of heart?"

'"The godly (*taqiyy*)—the pure with no rancour in him, nor treachery, trespass or envy."

'We asked, "O Messenger of God, and who comes after that?"

'"The one who abhors the world and loves the Hereafter."'[13]

One may understand from this that the worst of people is he who loves the world.

Said the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant

[A] This is Book XXVI of the *Revival*, *Kitāb dhamm al-dunyā*.

[B] Ghazālī is making a link with the names of two of the four quarters of the *Revival*: the Quarter of the Ruinous Vices (*rubʿ al-muhlikāt*) and the Quarter of the Saving Virtues (*rubʿ al-munjiyāt*).

him peace), 'If you want God to love you, then abstain from the world,'[14] thereby making abstinence a reason for the love [of God]; and whomever God loves, his is the highest of ranks. Abstinence from the world must, therefore, be among the highest of stations. It may be further construed that the lover of the world is exposed to God's abhorrence.

In a tradition related by way of the Prophet's Household, 'Abstinence and godfearingness (*waraʿ*) wander about in the hearts every night. When they chance upon a heart which has faith and modesty (*ḥayāʾ*), they dwell in it; otherwise, they move on.'[15]

When Ḥāritha [al-Mālik al-Anṣārī] said to the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace), 'I am truly faithful (*muʾmin*),' [the Prophet] asked him, 'And what is the reality of your faith?' [Ḥāritha] replied, 'I so averted my soul from this world that its rock and its gold are of equal worth to me. It is as if I had been in Paradise and Hell, as if I had beheld my Lord's Throne emerging.'[16] God's Messenger said, 'You have come to know! So hold fast! [You are] a servant whose heart God Exalted has illuminated with faith.' See, then, how [Hāritha] began to reveal[17] the reality of faith with the soul's aversion to the world, combined with certainty; and how God's Messenger vouched for him, for he mentioned 'a servant whose heart God Exalted has illuminated with faith.'

The Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) was asked about the meaning of 'expansion' in God's words, *Whomsoever God wills to guide—He expands his breast to submission* (islām).[18] He was asked, 'What is this "expansion" (*sharḥ*)?' He replied,[19] 'When the light enters the heart, the breast expands and distends for it.' He was asked, 'O Messenger of God, and is there a sign for this?' He answered, 'Yes, shunning the abode of illusion and turning to the abode of everlastingness and preparing for death before it descends.'[20] Observe how he makes abstinence a condition of submission—it is shunning the abode of illusion.

Said the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace), 'Before God, be ashamed with shame's full due.' They

answered, 'Ashamed are we before God Almighty.' He said, 'It is not so. You build what you do not dwell in. You gather what you do not consume.'[21] Therewith he showed that this was contrary to 'shame before God'.

A legation came to him and said, 'We are among the faithful (*muʾminīn*).' He replied, 'And what is the mark of your faith?' They mentioned patience in adversity, gratitude in comfort, satisfaction with the dispensations of the Decree, avoidance of exultation at the misfortune that befalls enemies. So, God's Messenger said, 'If you are thus, do not garner what you do not consume; do not build what you do not dwell in; and do not compete over what you leave behind.' He thus made abstinence the completion of faith.[22]

Jābir [b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Salamī al-Anṣārī] said, 'The Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) preached to us thus, "Whoever declares 'There is no god but God' and mixes naught in it, Paradise is duly his."'

Then, ʿAlī (may God be pleased with him) rose to say, 'By my father and mother, O Messenger of God, what shall we not mix with it? Describe it to us, explain to us.'

God's Messenger said, 'To love this world, seeking after it and following it. [Some] people utter the words of prophets but commit the acts of tyrants. Whoever holds forth "There is no god but God," and mixes naught in it, Paradise is duly his.'[23]

There is also the report that, 'Generosity is from certitude, and whoever has certitude will not enter Hellfire; whereas miserliness is from doubt and none who doubts shall enter Paradise.'[24]

[The Messenger of God] also said, 'The generous man is close to God, close to the people, close to Paradise. The miser is far from God, far from the people and close to the Fire.'[25]

Miserliness is the fruit of worldly desire, generosity the fruit of abstinence. Lauding the fruit is lauding what brings it forth.

It is transmitted from [Saʿīd] b. al-Musayyib, who transmitted from Abū Dharr, that the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) said, 'He who abstains from the world, in his heart God will instil wisdom, which his tongue will utter. He will

make him cognisant of the illness that is the world and its remedy, removing him safely from it to the Abode of Peace.'[26]

It is also related that the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace), with his Companions, once passed pregnant she-camels. These were the best-loved, most precious property they owned, because they combined mount, flesh, milk and coat. Because they were so dear to their hearts, God said *when the pregnant she-camels are abandoned.*[A] It is said that the Messenger of God turned away and lowered his eyes. He was asked, 'O Messenger of God, these are our most valuable property. Why do you not look at them?' He replied, 'God has forbidden me that,' and therewith recited, *Nor strain your eyes in longing for the things We have given for enjoyment.*[27]

Masrūq [b. al-Ajdaʿ al-Hamdhānī] related that ʿĀ'isha (may God be pleased with her) had once said, 'I told the Messenger of God, will you not ask God for nourishment, for He shall feed you!' She said, 'And I wept at seeing him go hungry.' He answered, "ʿĀ'isha, by the One in whose hand my soul lies, if I asked my Lord to bestow upon me the mountains of this world as gold, He would grant what I wish from this Earth. But I have[28] chosen worldly hunger to satiety, worldly poverty to wealth, worldly sorrow to joy. O ʿĀ'isha, the world is unseemly for Muḥammad and for Muḥammad's Household. O ʿĀ'isha, all that God wished from the Resolute among the Messengers (*ulū al-ʿazm*)[B] was patience with what is hateful and with what is loved in this world. From me, He wishes naught but to charge me with what he charged them. He recited, *Take patience as did the Messengers who were resolute*[29] By God, I cannot but obey Him. And by God, I shall strive to be patient, as they strove to be. There is no power save in God.'[30]

It is related about ʿUmar [b. al-Khaṭṭāb] (may God be pleased

[A] Abandoned on the Day of Reckoning, when every precious thing will be abandoned. (Q. LXXXI.4).

[B] The *Ulū al-ʿazm* are said to be: Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muḥammad.

with him) that after the Conquests were granted to him, his daughter Ḥafṣa[A] (may God be pleased with her) said to him, 'Put on the comeliest[31] clothes when the legations from distant lands come before you. And give order that food be prepared for you to eat and to serve to those present.'

ʿUmar replied,[32] 'Ḥafṣa, do you not know that those who are best informed about the situation of a man are the members of his household?'

'Yes, indeed,' she said.

Said ʿUmar, 'I implore you, by God, do you [not] know that the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) carried on in [his office as] prophet for so-and-so many years yet he and his household whenever they ate in the morning, went hungry by night; and whenever they ate at night, he and his household were hungry by morning?

'I implore you, by God, do you [not] know that the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) was a prophet for so-and-so many years and yet neither his nor his household was sated with dates until God granted him the victory of Khaybar?

'I implore you, by God, do you [not] know that one day[33] you brought food to God's Messenger upon a table of a certain height; that this grieved him until he paled; that he then asked for the table to be removed, placing the food on something else, or on the floor?

'I implore you, by God, do you [not] know that the Messenger (may God bless him and grant him peace) used to sleep on a folded woollen cover; that one night you folded for him four layers on which he slept; that on waking he said, "With this cover you prevented me from rising at night to pray—fold it in two as you used to do"?

'I implore you, by God, do you [not] know that the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) had once laid his clothes[34] aside for washing, when Bilāl came to him and made

[A] Ḥafṣa was also a wife of the Prophet.

the call to prayer; that he was hard-pressed to find clothes to don for the [place of] prayer until his clothes had dried and he could leave for prayer?

'I implore you, by God, do you [not] know that a woman of Banū Ẓafar made two garments, a covering and a robe; that she sent the one to the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) before completing the other one; that wrapped in it and nothing else he thus went off to prayer, its two ends tied at the neck, and he prayed thus?'

As [ʿUmar] kept speaking [his daughter] wept. He himself wept and lamented until we thought his soul might depart.[35]

One account contains a further statement of ʿUmar's, where he says, 'I had two companions who went on their way.[A] Were I to take a different way, my path would be different from theirs. By God, I shall endure their life of hardship that I may attain to their life of ease.'[36]

It is related from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī that the Prophet said, 'The prophets before me were tested, one stricken with poverty and wearing only a covering, and [another] so infested with lice that he died. Such [poverty] was dearer to them than any gift is to you [now].'[37]

From [ʿAbd Allāh] Ibn ʿAbbās, it is related that the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) said, 'When Moses arrived at the waters of Maydan,[38] so emaciated was he that the greenness of the herbs in his stomach was visible.'[B]

This is what the prophets and messengers of God chose. Of [all] God's creatures, they are the most cognisant of God and of the path that leads to triumph in the Hereafter.

In ʿUmar's report, it is related that ʿUmar (may God be pleased with him) stated, 'When God's word, *And those who heap up gold and silver and spend it not in the way of God*[39] came down, the Prophet (God bless him and grant him peace) said, "May this world perish,

[A] ʿUmar most likely meant the Prophet and Abū Bakr.

[B] Moses is said to have survived on herbs.

and perish the dinar and the dirham!" We then asked, "O Messenger of God,[40] God has forbidden us to heap up gold and silver, so what may we store?" He replied, "Be sure to have a tongue for remembrance [of God], a heart of gratitude and an upright wife to help you in the matter of the Hereafter."'[41]

And in the report of Ḥudhayfa [b. al-Yamān] from the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace), 'He who prefers the world to the Hereafter, God shall afflict him with three [things]: a care which his heart shall never part with, a poverty never shed, and a covetousness never slaked.'[42]

And the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) said, 'The faith of a servant of God is never complete until not being recognised becomes dearer to him than being recognised, and until the paucity of a thing is dearer than its abundance.'[43]

The Messiah (may God grant him peace) said, 'The world is a bridge—cross it and do not dwell in it.'[44]

He was asked, 'O Prophet of God, if only you would command us to build a house in which we might worship God!'

'Go and build a house over water,' he answered.

So they asked, 'How can a house stand erect over water?'

'And how can worship stand erect with the love of this world?' he replied.[45]

Our own Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) said, 'My Lord offered to turn the valley of Mecca into gold for me. I said, "No, Lord, I would rather go hungry one day and sated the other. The day of my hunger I beseech and supplicate You; the day I am sated I praise and extol You."'[46]

From [ʿAbd Allāh] Ibn ʿAbbās (may God be pleased with him and his father) it is related, 'The Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) went out one day to walk, Gabriel with him, and climbed Ṣafā.[A] The Prophet (may God bless him

[A] The name of a historic hill in Mecca that the modern Grand Mosque at Mecca now occupies. During the lesser and greater pilgrimages, the pilgrims start the ritual of *saʿy* at Ṣafā and walk between it and Marwa seven times.

and grant him peace) said to him, "O Gabriel,[47] by He who sent you with the truth, tonight the House of Muḥammad has not a handful of barley or a measure of meal."

'No sooner had he spoken than he heard a rumbling from the sky that stunned him. The Messenger of God asked, "Has God ordered the resurrection to begin?"

'"No," [Gabriel] answered, "it is Isrāfīl[A] (peace be upon him) descending to you upon hearing your words." And thus Isrāfīl came to him saying, "God Almighty and Majestic heard what you have said. He has sent with me the keys of the Earth and commanded me to propose to you that, if you wish it, I let the mountains of Tihāma[B] come[48] to you as emerald, ruby, gold and silver. If you prefer, you may be a prophet-king or a prophet-servant." And the Prophet was inspired[49] by Gabriel to humble himself to God, thrice said, "A prophet-servant (*nabiyyan ʿabdan*)!"'[50]

Said [the Prophet], 'Whenever God wishes a servant good, he makes him abstain from the world, yearn for the Hereafter and see the flaws of his soul.'[51]

He (may God bless him and grant him peace) told a man,[52] 'Abstain from this world and God shall love you; abstain from people's possession and people will love you.'[53]

He (may God bless him and grant him peace) said, 'Whoever wishes that God grant him knowledge without study and guidance without instruction let him abstain from this world.'[54]

And, 'He who longs for Paradise hastens to [perform] good works. He who dreads the Fire turns away from the appetites. He who awaits death forsakes the pleasures. And trifling are the misfortunes of this world for the one who abstains from this world.'[55]

From our Prophet and from Jesus (may God bless them both

[A] In English, Seraphiel.

[B] Tihāma is the coastal plain along the south-western and southern shores of the Arabian Peninsula. It is also a name for Mecca (*Lisān al-ʿArab* XII.72).

and grant them peace) the following is related. 'Four things are attainable only through exertion:[56] silence, which is the beginning of worship; humbleness; frequent remembrance [of God] and few possessions.'[57]

It is not possible to enumerate all the traditions that mention praise for aversion[58] to this world and reprove for love of it. The prophets were only sent to turn people[59] away from the world and towards the Hereafter. Most of what they said to people refers to this. What we have cited is sufficient. We ask God's help.

As to the accounts [of the early Muslims] (*āthār*), there is one according to which 'There is no god but God' always staves off the wrath of God upon people, so long as they do not complain of[60] what they lack in the world. And in another version, 'so long as they do not prefer to exchange their religion for their world. For if[61] they do this while saying "There is no god but God," then God will say, "You lie and are insincere in this."'[62]

And it is related that one of the Companions [of the Prophet] said, 'We observed all the [good] works and we found, in the matter of the Hereafter, nothing more certain than abstinence from this world.'[63]

Said a Companion to one of the leading [members] of the Succeeding Generation, 'You display more works and effort than the Companions of God's Messenger (may God bless him and grant him peace), and yet they are better than you.' He was asked why this was so and he replied, 'They were more assiduous in their abstinence from the world than you.'[64]

Said ʿUmar [b. al-Khaṭṭāb] (may God be pleased with him), 'Abstinence from the world is repose for the heart and the body.'[65]

Said Bilāl b. Saʿd [b. Tamīm al-Ashʿarī], 'How great an offence it is! God Exalted induces us to abstain from this world while we desire it!'

And a man told Sufyān [al-Thawrī], 'I long to see a learned person who abstains (*ʿālim zāhid*).' The latter answered, 'Woe to you! Such thing is lost, [nowhere to be] found.'[66]

Said Wahb b. Munabbih, 'Paradise has eight gates. When the People of Paradise approach it the gatekeepers shall say: By the Might of God, none shall enter it before those who had abstained from the world and who had longed for Paradise.'

Said Yūsuf b. Asbāṭ, 'I wish from God three qualities: to die without a dirham in my possession, to have no debt and that there be no flesh on my bones.'[67] God granted it all.

It is related that a caliph sent some offerings to the jurists, who accepted them. He sent ten thousand [dirhams] to al-Fuḍayl [b. ʿIyāḍ], who did not accept it. Al-Fuḍayl was asked by his children, 'The jurists accepted but you decline when your situation is such!' Al-Fuḍayl wept and said, 'Do you see whom you and I resemble? We are like a people who own a cow they use for tilling; when the cow grows old, they slaughter it in order to use its skin.[68] Similarly, you want to slaughter me at my old age. Die of hunger, O my family, that is better for you than to slaughter al-Fuḍayl.'[69]

Said ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr [b. Qatāda Abū ʿĀṣim], 'The Messiah, Son of Mary (may God grant him peace), wore a haircloth and used to eat from trees; he had no child who would die nor a house that would fall into ruin. He saved nothing for the morrow; wherever night fell upon him, there he slept.'[70]

Abū Ḥāzim [Musallama b. Dīnār al-Aʿraj] was told by his wife, 'Winter has come upon us and we must have food, clothing and firewood.' Abū Ḥāzim said to her, 'From all this there is egress. But there is no egress from death, then resurrection, then the standing between the hands of God Exalted, and finally, Paradise or Hellfire.'

Al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī] was asked, 'Why do you not wash your clothes?' His answer, 'The Command may be swifter than that.'[71]

Said Ibrāhīm b. Adham, 'Our hearts are covered by three veils, and certitude is not uncovered for the servant [of God] until these veils are lifted: joy in what is nigh, grief for what is lost and delight in praise. If you rejoice in what is near, you are covetous; grieve for what is lost and you are discontented, and the discontented will be punished; delight in praise and you are vain, and vanity debases the deed.'[72]

Said ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, 'Two prayer prostrations (*rakʿatān*) from an abstinent heart are better for the person and dearer to God than the devotions of those in religious worship (*mutaʿabbidūn*) but who struggle incessantly to the end of time.'[73]

Said someone of the First Generations, 'God's blessing to us is greater in what He has kept away from us than in what He has laid out for us.'[74] It is as if he was pointing to the Prophet's words: 'Although He loves him, God denies His faithful servant the world, just as you deny your sick both food and drink, fearing for them.'[75] Once this is understood, one will know that the 'blessing of denial' that is conducive to health is greater[76] than the 'blessing of provision' that leads to illness.

[Sufyān] al-Thawrī used to say, 'This world is the abode of crookedness, not the abode of uprightness; the abode of grief not of cheer. He who knows it shall neither delight in comfort nor grieve in distress.'[77]

Said Sahl [al-Tustarī], 'The actions of a worshipper are not sincere until he no longer fears four things: hunger, nakedness, poverty and abasement.'[78]

Said al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, 'I have come upon peoples and befriended communities who rejoice at nothing received in this world and who regret nothing of this world that slips away. For in their eyes that is more worthless than dust. One man had lived fifty or sixty years without the cover of clothes; he had neither seen a cooking pot nor put anything between himself and the [bare] earth. He had never ordered anyone in his house to prepare food. At nightfall, [such people] remain standing, prostrate themselves[A] their tears flowing down their cheeks and whisper to their Lord about their release from bondage [of the Hellfire]. If they performed a good deed, they were tirelessly thankful for it and bade God to accept it. If they committed evil, they grieved and bade God to forgive them their sin. They did this

[A] Lit., place their faces on the floor instead of on a bed (*yaftarishūn wujūhahum*).

continuously and yet, by God, they were free of sin and saved only through forgiveness.'[79] *God have mercy on them and may He be pleased with them.*

CHAPTER TWELVE

An Exposition of the Degrees of Abstinence, Its Divisions in Relation to Itself, to What Is Undesirable and to What Is Desirable

KNOW THAT abstinence in itself varies according to the difference in its strength on three degrees.

The first and lowest degree is when one abstains from this world while craving it. The person's heart is drawn to the world and his soul is distracted by it, but he fights and resists this. Such a person is called a 'novice in abstention' (*mutazahhid*). This constitutes the beginning of abstinence for those who attain the degree of abstinence by way of acquisition[A] and effort.[1] The novice in abstention exhausts first his selfhood then his money pouch; whereas the [fully fledged] abstainer (*zāhid*) exhausts first his money pouch then his selfhood through acts of piety,[2] instead of desisting from whatever he must part with. The novice in abstention faces danger, for his self may prevail over him and his appetite captivate him; he may, sooner or later, return to this world and to dalliance in it.[3]

[A] Ar., *kasb*—that is, the act which leads to the acquisition of a desired quality which is not innate, or alternatively, leads to the eschewing of a harmful quality (Jurjānī 184). *Kasb* became one of Ashʿarite theology's most distinctive concepts (cf. W. Montgomery Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* 193-4), and being close to this theological school, Ghazālī pressed the term into service, though its use here has no particular theological import.

The second degree is where someone willingly forsakes the world because he finds it contemptible compared with that to which he aspires. He is like someone who renounces a dirham for two [dirhams]. This does not trouble him, even if it requires some waiting. However, such an abstainer certainly perceives his own abstinence and attends to it, as the trader would a sale. He verges on admiring himself and his abstinence. He estimates himself[4] to have relinquished a thing of value for something of even greater value. That, too, is a flaw.

The third and highest degree is when a person abstains voluntarily, abstaining [even] from his own abstinence, though he does not perceive his abstinence because he does not perceive that he has forsaken anything. This is due to his knowledge that the world is nothing.[5] He is like someone who relinquishes earthenware to take a jewel, without either considering this an exchange or regarding himself as having abandoned anything. The world compared to God and to the felicity of the Hereafter is even baser than earthenware is to a jewel. This is the very perfection of abstinence, and its cause is the perfection of cognisance (*maʿrifa*). Such an abstainer is secure against the risk of distraction by the world, just as the person who relinquishes earthenware for a jewel is secure against seeking to revoke the sale.[6]

Abū Yazīd [al-Bisṭāmī] once asked Abū Mūsā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm [al-Dimashqī], 'Of what do you speak?'

'Of abstinence,' he replied.

'From what?'

'From the world,' he said.

[Abū Yazīd] brushed his hands together[A] and said, 'I thought he spoke about something. The world is nothing. What is there in it from which to abstain?'[7]

Among those with [true] cognisance (*maʿrifa*) and those whose hearts are occupied by direct witnessing and spiritual unveilings, a person who forsakes the world for the Hereafter is like someone

[A] To gesture futility, closure or one's inability.

denied access by a dog at the king's door. He throws the dog a morsel of bread, thereby occupying it with itself;[8] then he enters by the door to gain proximity to the king, gaining access throughout the realm. Do you think he believes the king to be obligated to him for a piece of bread he threw to his dog in return for what he gained?

The Devil is a dog [standing] at God's door to prevent entry. Yet, the door is open and the veil lifted. The world, [too,] is like a morsel of bread. When you eat, the pleasure is in the mastication but it ends shortly after swallowing. Then its[A] residue [alone] remains in the stomach and, finally decomposing and becoming an impurity, it has to be excreted. Therefore, how can he who forsakes [the world] to gain the glory of the king pay any attention to it?

Relative to the felicity of the Hereafter, the entire world—I mean whatever is conceded to each individual were he to live a hundred years!—is then less than a morsel of bread compared with possessing the [whole] world; for the finite cannot compare with the infinite. This world comes to an end in short order. Even if it should persist for thousands more years, clear of all trouble, it would still bear no relation to eternal felicity. How much less so when life is short and the pleasures of the world are dingy and murky; so, what relation can they have with the felicity of eternity?

Therefore, the abstainer can attend to his abstinence only when he turns towards that from which he abstains. He attends to that from which he abstains only because he sees it as something worth reckoning. And he sees it thus only for lack of cognisance. The reason for the flawed abstinence is, therefore, the lack of cognisance.[9]

These, then, are the differences separating the degrees of abstinence. In turn,[10] every degree therefrom has its own degrees. Hence, the patient perseverance of the novice ascetic varies

[A] Figuratively, the residue of pleasure.

according to the measure of difficulty in patience; likewise, the degree of the person who admires his own abstinence is the measure of attention he pays to his abstinence.

Now, the division of abstinence with respect to 'what is desirable' is again divided into three degrees. The lowest degree is when there is, in what is desirable, salvation from Hellfire and from torments like those of the grave, the rendering of accounts, the dangers of the path and other terrors[11] mentioned by the reports that lie ahead for the servant.[A] About this [it is said],[12] 'A man shall stand at the Reckoning and a hundred camels could quench their thirst with his sweat.'[13] This is the abstinence[14] of the fearful (*zuhd al-khā'ifīn*). Were they to perish, it would be as if they had contented themselves with nonexistence (*ʿadam*), for deliverance from pain occurs solely with nonexistence.

The second degree is when one abstains because of a desire for God's reward and blessings—the pleasures promised in His Paradise: the houris, the palaces and other things. This is the abstinence of the hopeful[B] (*zuhd al-rājīn*), for they are the ones who renounce this world, satisfied with nonexistence and deliverance from pain but desiring everlasting being and the felicity of eternity without end.

The third degree—the highest—is when the person has no other desire[15] but for God and for meeting God.[16] His heart attends neither to the pains from which he seeks rescue nor the pleasures he may obtain. Rather, he is immersed in the concern with God;

[A] These are recounted in detail in the last chapter of the *Revival*, *Kitāb dhikr al-mawt wa-mā baʿdahu*, translated by T. J. Winter as *Al-Ghazālī on Remembrance of Death and the Afterlife* (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 1989).

[B] Those who *expect* something in return for what they do, in this case a reward from God. The stress should be on expectation in this transactional sense. 'Expectation' (*amal*) differs from 'hope' (*rajā'*), which Qushayrī describes as praiseworthy (Qushayrī, *Risāla* 105). Cf. Muḥāsibī, *al-Waṣāyā* 249. Since these two words are often interchangeable, neither should be taken in the generic sense of 'hope', at least in this book. Ghazālī is certainly not suggesting that one ought to live in hopeless despair.

and it is this [abstainer] who has only one concern upon waking,[A] for he is the true unifier (*muwaḥḥid*) who seeks nothing but God.[17] This is because he who seeks what is other than God worships it.[B] Everything sought is worshipped, every seeker is a worshipper with respect to the matter sought. The search for what is other than God is latent polytheism (*shirk khafī*).[B]

This [degree] is the abstinence of those who love (*zuhd al-muḥibbīn*) and they are the cognisant, since only he loves God who knows Him.[C] Just as the person who knows the dinar and the dirham, but learns that he cannot have both, will love only the dinar,[D] so the person who knows God and the pleasure of gazing at His Noble Face knows that this pleasure cannot be combined with the pleasure of enjoying the houris, of seeing the shapes of palaces or the greenery of trees. He will long only for the pleasure of the sight,[E] preferring nothing else.

Do not suppose that any room for the pleasure of houris and palaces remains in the hearts of the denizens of Paradise once they gaze at the Face of God. Such a pleasure is to the pleasurable comfort of the denizens of Paradise[19] what mastering the world and taking possession of the Earth to its farthest reaches and of people are to the pleasure of capturing[20] and playing with a sparrow. To the cognisant and those endowed with hearts,[F] the seekers of the

[A] This refers to the above-mentioned *ḥadīth* but also to a *ḥadīth* to which Ghazālī often returns: 'He who makes all his concerns one, God will provide for all his concerns.'

[B] In Islam every human deed is an act of worship of some sort, and every intentional act of worship by definition requires some degree of focus or attention (*hamm*). Anything that requires attention, however, is either for the sake of God or it is not. Being attentive to something that does not have God as its ultimate goal is, technically, aimed at something 'other than God'. In this sense, to be devoted to what is other than God implies an act of worship that does not have God as its end.

[C] Based on the familiar postulate that one cannot love what one does not know.

[D] The dinar is valued higher than the dirham.

[E] The sight of God's noble face.

[F] Endowed with inner vision.

comfort of Paradise are like the boy who seeks only to play with a sparrow, abandoning the pleasure of ownership (*mulk*) because he has not yet come to know the pleasure of ownership. It is not because playing with the sparrow is in itself higher or more pleasurable than 'ownership' by way of mastery over most people.

As to the division [of abstinence] according to 'what is undesirable', much has been said about this. Perhaps more than a hundred statements have already been cited and we shall not be detained by copying them.[21] We suggest, rather, a detailed discussion making it plain that most of what has been mentioned is less than comprehensive.

We say, then, concerning abstinence that what is undesirable may be both summarized and differentiated. Its differentiation has levels—some more elaborate by virtue of the units of division, others more synoptic of the whole.

The first degree of summation (*ijmāl*) is everything besides God.[A] One must abstained from it to the point even of abstaining from oneself.

The second degree of summation is abstinence from every attribute of the self that smacks of pleasure. This includes most of what the natural disposition imply by way of appetite, anger, pride, dominance, wealth, status and others.

The third degree is abstinence in wealth, status and the reasons for them (*asbābihā*), because all the self's indulgences stem from [wealth and status].

The fourth degree is abstinence in knowledge (*ʿilm*), power (*qudra*), the dinar and the dirham, and status. [This is] because, while there are many types of wealth, the dinar and the dirham along with status bring them together. And while there are many reasons for status, knowledge and power bring them together. I mean by this that every knowledge and power whose goal is the ownership of

[A] What is undesirable is everything besides God.

hearts. This is because status implies ownership and power over hearts,[A] just as wealth implies the ownership of valuables and the power [to control] them.

Going beyond this differentiation into deeper elaboration and summation hardly makes what [calls for] abstention less encompassing. In one verse [of the Qur'ān], God mentioned seven [objects of abstinence]: *Fair in the eyes of men is the appetite for women and offspring, riches amassed in gold and silver, branded horses, cattle and tilled land. These are the enjoyment of the life of this world.*[22] In another verse, God reverts to five [objects of abstinence], whereby He says, *Know that the life of this world is but play and amusement, pomp and boasting amongst you; [it is] accumulation of wealth and of children.*[23] In a different verse, He reverts to two [objects of abstinence] and declares, *Verily, the life of this world is but play and amusement.*[24] In yet another place, He brings everything down to one thing: *...and forbade the soul [its] passion, for Paradise shall be his abode.*[25] 'Passion' (*hawā*) is an expression which brings together all of the soul's indulgences in this world and from which one must thus abstain.[26]

If you have understood the method of summation and differentiation, you will know withal that one [matter] does not contradict the other, even if they should all differ in one respect when elaborated and in another when summarized. The result is that abstinence consists in spurning all the soul's indulgences. And when a person spurns the indulgences of the soul, he detests lingering in this world. Hence, he will no doubt curtail his expectation.[B] This is because he wishes to continue [in the world] for self-enjoyment; he wants[27] perpetual enjoyment, for he who desires something desires its continuance. To love this world means nothing else but to love the continuance of what is either present or possible in this life. Therefore, if he does not desire

[A] Mastery of others or influence over them.

[B] In other words, he will curtail what he should *expect* from the world, where God nonetheless provides for his needs and where he in turn relies on God. This is what *amal* normally means, not 'hope' in the sense understood in English.

[this life], he will not wanted it. By the same token, when fighting was decreed upon them, [some Muslims] said, *Lord, why have You decreed that we fight? If only You would grant us respite a while*.[28] Said God, *Say: Brief is the enjoyment of this world*.[29] That is to say: You desire to live on only to enjoy this world. With this then the abstainers emerged and the hypocrites were exposed.

The abstainers who love God (*al-zāhidūn al-muḥibbūn*) fight in His path *as if they were a [single] edifice*;[30] they await *one of two good things*.[A31] When called to the fight they caught the scent of Paradise. They hastened spontaneously to the task like the thirsty to cool water, aspiring to support the religion of God or to attain the rank of martyrdom. Whoever [later] died in his [own] bed used to be anguished at having missed out on martyrdom. So much so that Khālid b. al-Walīd (may God be pleased with him), in the throes of death on his berth, said, 'How I put my life in peril charging rows [of soldiers] in the hope for martyrdom! And now I lie dying as the elderly do.' When he passed away, eight hundred pierce wounds were counted on his body. This was the state of the truthful in faith (*ṣādiqīn fi'l-īmān*), may God be pleased with them all.

The hypocrites, on the other hand, deserted the marching [soldiers] in fear of death. Therefore, they were told, *Verily, the death from which you flee will overtake you*.[32] And so, preferring survival to martyrdom, they exchanged what is better for what is nearer.[B] *These are they who have bartered guidance for error. But their transaction is without profit and they have no direction*.[33]

As for the sincere (*mukhlisīn*), God has purchased their persons and their goods, for theirs is Paradise.[34] Therefore, when they see that they have relinquished, say, twenty or thirty years of [worldly] enjoyment for eternal enjoyment they rejoice in the bargain concluded.[35]

[A] The two good things are victory and death.

[B] 'Nearer' in the worldly sense. The word *dunyā* basically connotes 'this world before us' and is derived from the same radical as *adnā* (closer), stands for what is nearer to our faculties of perception and bodily existence but remote from God.

This explains what must be relinquished. If you have understood it, you will know that those who mention abstinence definitively[A] allude to only one [or another] part of the divisions of abstinence. Each of them[36] is merely reaffirming what he sees as preponderant either in himself or in whomever happens to be talking to.

Said Bishr [al-Ḥāfī], 'Abstinence from this world is abstinence from people.'[37] And this alludes to abstinence from status, in particular.

Said Qāsim [b. ʿUthmān] al-Jūʿī, 'Abstinence from this world is the abstinence of the belly. Therefore, in proportion to your mastery over your stomach shall you master abstinence.' This points to the abstinence from [only] one [kind of] appetite. But on by my life, it is by far the dominant appetite! And it is what rouses most of the [other] appetites.[38]

Said al-Fuḍayl [b. ʿIyāḍ], 'Abstinence in this world is satisfaction (*qanāʿa*)'—and this refers to money in particular.[39]

Said [Sufyān] al-Thawrī, 'Abstinence is the diminution of expectation.'[40] It gathers up all the appetites. One who is predisposed to the appetites is set in his soul to survive and, with that, lengthens his expectation. And for one who curtails his expectation, it is as if he had spurned all the appetites.

Said Uways [b. ʿĀmir al-Qaranī], 'When the abstainer goes out to beg his abstinence leaves him.'[41] His purpose here was not to define abstinence, but to make trust [in God] a condition of abstinence. Uways also said, 'Abstinence is to refrain from seeking after what is secure'[42]—a reference to sustenance.[B]

Said the Traditionists (*ahl al-ḥadīth*),[43] '[To be in] this world is to act on [mere] opinion and what is cogitated (*maʿqūl*). Abstain-

[A] Lit., the definition or upper limit of abstinence (*ḥadd al-zuhd*). Ghazālī's point here is that no single, self-interested viewpoint can define abstinence. He is not referring to learned or theological discussion of the 'definition' of abstinence as such when he uses the word *mutakallimūn* in *mutakallimūn fi ḥadd al-zuhd*.

[B] *Rizq*, or what is decreed for a person.

ing is to follow knowledge and to cleave to the [Prophetic] example (*sunna*).'[44] If by this one intends false opinion and the thought by which one seeks status in this world, then it is correct; though it refers only to a particular cause of status, or to what is excessive in the appetites. Some [branches of] knowledge have no utility in them for the Hereafter. But they have been so [greatly] extended that a single science demands a lifetime of pursuit from a human being.[45] Thus, the condition for [being] an abstainer is that excess be the first thing spurned.[46]

Said al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī], 'The abstainer is he who, upon seeing someone, says, "He is better than me."'[47] He taught that abstinence is humility (*tawāḍu'*).[48] This points to the repudiation of status and vanity, which comprise one of the categories of abstinence.

A man said, 'Abstinence is the quest for what is licit.' But what is this next to the one who says that abstinence is to give up seeking, as Uways said? There is no doubt that [Uways] meant giving up the search for [things] licit.

Yūsuf b. Asbāṭ used to say, 'He who is patient in adversity, renounces the appetites and legally earns his bread takes according to the root of abstinence.'

There are more utterances about abstinence than those we have cited, but we see little benefit in conveying them. For, anyone who seeks to discover the realities of things from people's utterances will find that utterances vary and may gain him only confusion. On the other hand, he who discovers the truth within himself, having caught sight of it in his heart instead of seizing upon what he has heard, is assured[49] of the truth. He understands the limitation of the person restricted by the inadequacy of his insight. And he understands the person who, though complete in knowledge, is limited by a need. Such persons are not limited because of an inadequacy in the insight; rather, they utter what they do because of the need [for it], for surely they utter it in proportion to need. As needs vary, so vary the words, no doubt. The reason for the limitation can be

to inform about the person's present state, namely, the station of the servant in himself.[50] As the states vary, so vary the words that convey them, no doubt.

Yet the reality in itself can only be one. It can never vary. What joins all these utterances together—what is complete in itself, albeit without differentiation—is as Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī had said, for he declared, 'We have heard much said about abstinence. For us, abstinence is the relinquishment of everything that distracts you from God (Almighty and Majestic).'[51]

He once explained, 'He who marries or travels in search of livelihood or [is wont to] write down a tradition[A] relies on the world.'[52] He declared all this to be contrary to abstinence. Abū Sulaymān recited the words of God, *...but only he that offers up a sound heart to God.*[53] He said that this was the heart that contained nothing but God.

He said, 'They abstain from the world because their hearts are, for the [sake of] Hereafter, free of their cares.'[54]

[All the foregoing] elucidates the division[55] of abstinence in tandem with the kinds of things from which [one] has to abstain.

With respect to its [legal] precepts (*aḥkām*), abstinence may be divided into [acts that fall under] obligation (*farḍ*), supererogation (*nafl*) and blamelessness (*salamā*)—as Ibrāhīm b. Adham held. Obligation is abstinence from what is prohibited (*ḥarām*); supererogation is abstinence from what is licit (*ḥalāl*); blamelessness is abstinence from what is ambiguous (*shubuhāt*).

We have expounded the degrees of prudence (*wara'*)[B] in the

[A] Early on in Islamic history, writing down the sayings of the Prophet was questioned as a practice. The risk of distorting what may or may not have been said was a foremost concern then because it was assumed the transmitter could not verify the accuracy of a report he did not hear directly.

[B] *Wara'* has been translated here as 'prudence' because of its connection with the *Book of the Lawful and Unlawful*, where Ghazālī discusses in detail the levels of prudence with regard to what is legally ambiguous. *Wara'* may also be translated as godfearingness, etc.

Book of the Lawful and the Unlawful.[A] This [too] has to do with abstinence.

For, when asked what abstinence is, Mālik b. Anas replied Guardedness (*taqwā*).[B]

With respect to what latent things (*khafāyā*) may be relinquished, there is no limit in their abstinence. This is because there is no limit to what the soul enjoys in [passing] thoughts (*khaṭarāt*), perceptions (*laḥaẓāt*) and other states—especially so in latent hypocrisy. None but the leading scholars know of this.[56] Nor is there a limit to the degrees of abstinence from outward riches (*amwāl ẓāhira*).[C57]

One of the highest degrees of abstinence is that of Jesus (peace be upon him), who laid his head on a rock to sleep. The Devil asked him, 'Had you not renounced the world? What has happened to you?'

Jesus said, 'And what has changed?'

'Your reclining on the rock'—that is: the luxury you take in sleeping with your head raised above ground. Jesus cast away the rock and said, 'Take it and with it what I have abandoned to you.'[58] It is related that Yaḥyā [b. Zakariyyā] (peace be upon them both),[D] having abandoned the luxury of soft apparel and the comfortable sense of touch, wore a coarse haircloth that chafed[59] his skin. His mother asked him to wear in place of the haircloth a woollen garb. He did so, but God inspired him, 'O Yaḥyā, have you come

[A] This is chapter XIV of the *Revival*, *Kitāb al-halāl wa'l harām* translated by Yusuf T. DeLorenzo as *Al-Ghazālī on the Lawful and the Unlawful* (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society), 2014.

[B] *Taqwā* can be translated as 'fear of God', among other things. Here, it is rendered 'guardedness' to connect it to 'prudence',—the awareness of God in all one's actions. *Taqwā* is said to have an exterior and interior. Exterior pertains to the upholding of the law, interior to the purity of intention and sincerity (Zabīdī 346).

[C] Ghazālī is reaffirming that there is no end to abstinence not only in 'latent things', but also in 'outward things'.

[D] In English, John the Baptist, Son of Zechariah.

to prefer the world to Me?' Whereupon he wept, renounced the wool and put on what he had on before.'[60]

Said Aḥmad [b. Ḥanbal], 'Abstinence is the abstinence of Uways [al-Qaranī]—he took to sitting in a basket from [his] nakedness.'[61]

And while Jesus sat in the shade of someone's wall, the owner of the wall caused him to rise, and [Jesus] said, 'It is not you who make me rise, but the One who is dissatisfied that I take comfort in the shade of a wall.'[62]

Therefore, the degrees of abstinence, both outward and inward, have no bounds. The lowest degree is the abstinence from everything ambiguous and forbidden. Some people have said that abstinence is abstinence from what is licit, not what is ambiguous and forbidden, and that the latter is in no way one of its degrees.[A] Then, they observed that nothing licit remained in the riches of this world, and so abstinence is inconceivable at present.[63]

You may argue that, insofar as it is correct [to say] that abstinence[64] is the renunciation of what is other than God, how is this conceivable then with food, drink, clothing, social intercourse and conversing when all these are the preoccupation with what is other than God? Know that turning away from the world towards God means devoting the whole heart to Him, in thought as in proclamation. And this is inconceivable except with self-preservation (*biqā'*); but self-preservation may be had only with the necessities of personal [life]. Whenever you restrict yourself in the world to that which fends off what is ruinous to the body, aiming to employ the body for acts of worship, then you will not be preoccupied with what is other than God. What alone conducts to the thing belongs with it.

Someone who is busy giving provender and drink to the camel on his way to pilgrimage has not therewith abandoned his

[A] As Ghazālī mentioned earlier, abstinence is not from what is forbidden but only from what is permitted and in one's possession.

pilgrimage. On the way to God, your body should be like your camel on the way to pilgrimage. Your goal is not to provide comfort to your camel as such. It is limited to warding off what is injurious to the camel, that it may take you to your destination. By the same token, you must safeguard your body against injurious hunger and thirst with food and drink, and against injurious heat and cold with clothing and shelter. So, limit yourself to need, and do not aim for gratification (*taladhdhuth*) but for guardedness (*taqwā*) based on obedience to God. This is not contrary to abstinence: it is a condition of abstinence.

If you object, 'Yet, I cannot but take pleasure in food when hungry.'[65] Know that this will not hurt you when your intention is not [primarily] gratification. Indeed, the person who drinks cool water finds the drinking pleasurable,[66] the outcome being the cessation of gnawing thirst. He who satisfies his need is relieved at that, though he neither intends nor deliberately seeks this [relief], since the heart is not turned towards it.[A] At night vigil, indeed, a person can feel refreshed by the early morning breeze and by the chirruping birds.[67] But if the person's intention is not to [actively] seek out a place [where he can find] this refreshment, then whatever befalls him unintentionally of the latter cannot harm him. Among those who are fearful, however, are those who seek out places that the early morning breeze cannot reach, fearing the refreshment it may bring and the familiarity that may [take hold of] the heart—for it may contain a familiarity with the world and a diminished familiarity with God proportionate to the occurrence of familiarity with what is other than God.

This is why Dā'ūd al-Ṭā'ī had an uncovered vessel containing water.[68] He would not remove it from the sun but drank the warm water, saying, 'He that feels the pleasure of cool water cannot bear separation from this world.'[69]

These then are the fears of those who are cautious (muḥtāṭin).

[A] *The aim is solely to ward off what is injurious to the body.*

In all this, the resolve is to take precaution (iḥtiyāṭ). For though it be onerous, its duration is short. While seeking cover is of slight duration on account of the [greater] eternal enjoyment, it is never burdensome to the cognisant who prevail over themselves through the regimen of the law [of religion], who seek protection in the steadiness of certainty, cognisant of the contrariety that separates the world from religion—may God be pleased with them all.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

An Exposition of the Details of Abstinence with Respect to the Necessities of Life

KNOW THAT [the things that] enthral people are divided into the superfluous (*fuḍūl*) and the essential (*muhimm*).[A] An example of what is superfluous are branded horses, since most people purchase them for the luxury of riding them when one is well capable of walking.[1] An example of what is essential is food and drink. While we cannot detail all the types of superfluous things, for they are countless, we can enumerate what is necessary and essential. Moreover, what is superfluous impinges on the latter with respect to its quantity (*miqdār*), type (*jins*) and times (*awqāt*). So, the aspect of abstinence pertaining to the [essentials] must be clarified.

There are six essentials: food, clothing, shelter and its furnishing, spouse and money. [With] status[B] one seeks certain goals that include these six things. In the *Book of Status*[C] in the Quarter of Ruinous Vices, we discussed the meaning of status, why people pine for it and the manner in which one has to be wary of it (*al-iḥtirāz minhu*).[2] At present, we shall restrict ourselves to expounding the six essentials.

[A] Lit., 'important' things.

[B] Although status (*jāh*) is not an 'essential', Ghazālī discusses it extensively, as he does below with 'money'.

[C] This is the XXVIII chapter of the *Revival*, *Kitāb dhamm al-jāh wa'l-riyā'*, The Book of Condemnation of Status and Ostentation.

THE FIRST [ESSENTIAL]: FOOD. Man must have lawful sustenance to maintain his strength. However, [sustenance] has 'length' and 'breadth'. Both its length and breadth must be curbed until abstinence is perfected. Length, then, is in relation to an entire lifespan; hence, someone who possesses only a day's provision of food will not be content with it. Breadth, on the other hand, pertains to the amount of food, its type and the time it is eaten.

'Length' cannot be curtailed without curtailing expectation. The lowest degree of abstinence [from food] is a curtailment commensurate with staving off hunger, if the hunger is severe and illness feared. The person in this state for whom what he ate suffices, storing [nothing] away from morning to night—this is the highest state.

The second degree is when one saves for a month or forty days.

The third degree is when one saves for one year only. This is the rank of the weak in abstinence.

It is not possible to call someone an abstainer who stores for longer than this; for to expect to live more than a year is to have high expectation. Abstinence cannot be completed for him unless he has no [personal] profit[A] and does not accept to take from the hands of others—as in the case of Dā'ūd al-Ṭā'ī, who inherited twenty dinars and, keeping it, spent it over twenty years.[3] This is not contrary to abstinence in principle, save for one who makes trust [in God] a condition of abstinence.

As to 'breadth', with respect to quantity, its lowest degree for a day and a night is a half-weight;[B] its intermediate degree one weight; its highest is one bulk measure (*mudd*). This is what God has determined for feeding, in penance (*kaffāra*), the indigent.[4] Beyond this is insatiability of the stomach and gluttony. He who cannot restrict himself to one measure cannot claim abstinence of the stomach (*al-zuhd fī'-baṭn*).

[A] In other words, as long as one does not lay claim to more than is required for strictly *personal* needs up to a year, without reference to the wider social responsibilities.

[B] *Niṣf raṭl*. The *raṭl* is a weight measure of roughly a 'pound'; *mudd* is a volume or bulk measure equivalent to a cup (cf. Allouche, *Mamluke Economics* 87).

With respect to type, The lowest [degree] is any food, if only bread made from bran. The intermediate is bread from barley and corn. The highest is bread made from unsieved wheat. Passed through a sieve until it became powdery,[5] it would fall under luxury and barely makes it through the last door[6] of abstinence, much less the first.

The least of the food condiments is salt or herbs and vinegar. The intermediate is oil or a sliver of any kind of fat. The highest is meat, any kind of meat—this, only once or twice a week. If it is consumed regularly, or more than twice a week, it will barely make it through the last door of abstinence. Someone who does so cannot be an abstainer in matters of the stomach at all.

With respect to time, the lowest [degree] is [to eat] once every day and once every night, and this is when one fasts. The intermediate is when one fasts, then drinks one night without eating and eats another night without drinking. The highest is to end up passing three days or a week [without food], but no more. We have discussed—in the Quarter of Ruinous Vices[A]—the way to reduce food intake and to end the greed for food.[7]

Let us consider the states[8] of the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) and the Companions (may God be pleased with them) regarding the manner in which they abstained from food and renounced food condiments. ʿĀ'isha said (may God be pleased with her), 'Forty nights had gone by without a lamp or a fire lit in the house of the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace).' 'How did you live?' she was asked. She answered, 'By the two black things: dates and water.'[B9] This

[A] Ghazālī is alluding to chapter XXIII of the *Revival*, *Kitāb kasr al-shahwatayn* which has been translated by T. J. Winter as *Al-Ghazālī on Disciplining the Soul and on Breaking the Two Desires*, Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 1995.

[B] Dates and water are by tradition called 'the two black things'. There are two possible explanations for this. Served in opaque containers, water appears dark; however, both dates and water were valued, beyond the 'medical' sense, as the two substances that fill at once the twin needs of hunger and thirst, which in turn may be imagined to correspond to 'whiteness', in the sense of privation or void.

[amounted to] a renunciation of meat, broth and food condiments.

Al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī] stated that the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) used to ride a donkey, to wear wool and stitched sandals, to lick up his fingers [after eating], to eat on the floor, and to say, 'Verily, I am a slave who eats as the slave eats and sits as the slave sits.'[10]

Said the Messiah (God grant him peace),[11] 'I say unto you in truth: to him who seeks Paradise, barley bread and sleep in the swill among dogs is [already] plenty.'[12]

Said al-Fuḍayl [b. ʿIyāḍ], 'For three days, since arriving in Medina, God's Messenger (may God bless him and grant him peace) did not sate himself with wheat bread.'[13]

The Messiah (God grant him peace)[14] once said, 'O Children of Israel, for you are clear water, wild greens[A] and barley bread, but beware of wheat bread, for you will not be up to offering thanks for it.'

In the Quarter of Ruinous Vices, we already discussed the lives of the prophets and the First Generations concerning eating and drinking[15] and we need not repeat it here.

When the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) went to the people of Qubā', they brought him a drink of milk mixed with honey; he put down the vessel and declared, 'I do not forbid it, but I renounce it in humility before God.'[16]

One summery day, ʿUmar [b. al-Khaṭṭāb] was brought a drink of fresh water and honey. But he said, 'Keep its account away from me.'[B17]

Said Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh al-Rāzī, 'The sincere abstainer subsists on what he finds, clothes himself with whatever covers him, shelters wherever he finds himself. The world is his prison; the grave his bed; seclusion wherever he abides; attentiveness his [only] thought; the Qur'ān his discourse; the Lord his intimate; remembrance [of God] his boon companion; abstinence his consort;

[A] Those gathered in the wild, not harvested.

[B] The account he would have to give in the Hereafter for accepting the drink.

grief his condition; modesty his motto; hunger his condiment; wisdom his speech; dust his bedspread; guardedness his provision; silence his booty; patience his support; trust [in God] his sufficiency; understanding his guide; worship his calling; and Paradise his end'—God willing.

THE SECOND [ESSENTIAL]: CLOTHING. Lowest in degree[18] is that which protects from the heat and the cold, and which covers one's nakedness and it consists of a [single] garment. The intermediate degree consists of a jacket, headgear and footwear. The highest is when a person carries with him a kerchief[A] and trousers.

In respect of 'quantity', whatever exceeds this exceeds the limit of abstinence. Being an abstainer is conditional on having no garment with which to dress when one's clothes are being washed; rather, one is compelled to stay home. To own two jackets, two trousers and two kerchiefs is to depart, in respect of quantity, by the doors of abstinence in their entirety.

With respect to 'type', the rough haircloth is the lowest. The intermediate is coarse wool, the highest coarse cotton.

In respect of 'time', the farthest limit is whatever covers for a year. The shortest is whatever lasts a day, to the point where a person might patch his clothes with tree leaves, though the latter become quickly desiccated. The intermediate is whatever is held for a month or so. Seeking anything that lasts longer than a year lies outside the scope of expectation and is thus contrary to abstinence, unless the person seeks its crudest form because of its strength and endurance. Therefore, he that finds more than this ought to give it away in charity. By keeping it he will not be an abstainer, but instead someone who loves the world.

Here, let us consider the states of the prophets and the Companions [of the Prophet Muḥammad] for how they renounced dress. Said Abū Burda [Hānī b. Niyār al-Anṣārī], "Ā'isha brought out for us a felt overdress and a crude cover. She said, "The Mes-

[A] To be worn around the head (Zabīdī 351).

senger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) passed away in these two [things]."'[19]

And the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace) said, 'God Exalted loves the humble person who is unconcerned about what he wears.'[20]

'Amr b. al-Aswad al-ʿAnsī said, 'Never shall I dress for prominence, nor ever sleep a single night upon a blanket, ride upon a beast or fill my belly with food.'[21] ʿUmar [b. al-Khaṭṭāb] said, 'He who is gladdened at observing the guidance of the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace), let him observe 'Amr b. al-Aswad.'[22]

And in one report, 'There is no servant of God who puts on a cloak of prominence but that God turns away from him until he removes it, though he be beloved by Him.'[23]

The Messenger of God bought a garment with four dirhams. His two garments were worth ten [dirhams].[24] His cover was four-and-a-half cubits (*adhraʿ*) and with three dirhams he bought trousers. He used to wear two white woollen shawls called *ḥulla*, which consisted of two pieces of a single type. Sometimes the Prophet used to wear two Yemeni outer garments or two *saḥūlīs*[25] of similar coarseness.

In one report, the shirt of God's Messenger was like that of an oil seller (*zayyāt*).[26]

The Messenger donned a yellow-striped garment of silk brocade[27] worth two hundred dirhams for one day. His Companions touched it and wondered: 'O Messenger of God, has this descended to you from Paradise?' It had been a gift from al-Muqawqis, King of Alexandria, and [the Messenger] wanted to honour him by wearing it. The Messenger then removed it and sent it to a man from among the idolaters [in order to] bring him closer. He then forbade silk and brocade. It was as if, above all, he had worn it the better to reaffirm the prohibition; just as when he wore a gold ring for a day, only to remove it and to forbid men from wearing it. Similarly, he said to ʿĀ'isha on the matter of Barīra, 'Make

allegiance conditional upon her owners (*walā'*).'[A] When she did, he climbed the pulpit and forbade it.[B] Likewise, he thrice gave permission for temporary marriage (*mutʿa*),[C] then forbade it the better to reaffirm wedlock.

The Messenger (may God bless him and grant him peace) once performed his ritual prayers in a dark cloak[D] that had an emblem. Upon making his ritual salutations,[E] he said, 'This here has distracted me. Take it to Abū Jahm [al-Ḥudhayfa b. Ghānim al-Qurashī] and bring me his *inbijāniyya*'—that is to say, his cloak.[28] He preferred the cloak to soft apparel.

And once, the lace of his sandal was worn out;[29] and it was replaced with a new strap and he prayed in [his sandal].[F] Upon making his ritual salutations, he said, 'Return me the worn-out lace and remove this new strap, for I looked upon it as I prayed.'[30]

The Messenger of God put on a gold ring and while on the pulpit glanced it. He then cast it away, saying, 'This here drew my attention away from you, for I kept I looking at it and then at you.'[31]

The Messenger of God slipped on a pair of new sandals and was struck by their beauty. He fell to the ground in prostration, saying, 'I am struck by their beauty, and so I humble myself to my Lord, fearful of His displeasure with me.' He then slipped them off and handed them over to the first poor person he saw.[32]

According to Sunān b. Saʿd:[33] 'I wove a long garment from wild feline hairs for the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) and made its lining black. On wearing it he said, "See

[A] Barīra was a slave whom ʿĀ'isha is said to have bought and set free.

[B] Presumably, he forbade it due to the conditionality for allegiance to the Prophet.

[C] Namely, marriage based on a short-term contract.

[D] Zabīdī explains that *khamīsa* is a black, square cloak (Zabīdī 354).

[E] Salutations that ritually end the prayer.

[F] Footwear is normally removed for the ritual prayers except under certain circumstances.

how beautiful it is, how soft."' Said [Sunān], 'Then a desert Arab[A] came to him and said to him, 'O Messenger of God, bestow it on me.' The Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) was unstinting when asked for something. He turned it over to him and ordered that another be woven for him. But he died (may God bless him and grant him peace) while it was being woven.'[34]

Jābir is reported to have said, 'The Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) entered as Fāṭima (may God be pleased with her) was grinding with a hand-mill, clad in a gown[35] made from camel hair. When he saw her he wept and said, "O Fāṭima, swallow the bitterness of this world for the comfort of eternity." And it was revealed to him, *And verily will your Lord give you, wherewith you shall be content*.'[36]

Said God's Messenger, 'The Highest Assembly [of Angels] apprised me that the best of my Community (*umma*) are those who openly exult at the extent of God's mercy and weep privately from fear of His punishment. Theirs is but a light burden on the [rest of the] people but a heavy one on themselves. They wear threadbare clothes and do as the monks do. Their bodies are on the Earth and their hearts at the divine Throne.'[37]

This was the way of the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) in respect of dress. He counselled his Community to follow [his example], saying, 'Let him who loves me take my Path (*sunna*).'[38] He said, 'Your duty is to take my Path and that of the rightly-guided successors (*khulafā'*) after me—hold fast to them.'

And God said, *Say: If you love God, then follow me, God shall love you...*[39]

To ʿĀ'isha, in particular, the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) counselled, 'If you wish to keep close to me, then beware of keeping company with the wealthy and do not discard a garment before having mended it.'[40]

[A] *Arābi* refers to the desert Arabs of the Arabian Peninsula, as opposed to the settled Arabs.

Twelve patches were counted on ʿUmar's vesture, one of them made of skin.[41]

ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (may God be pleased with him) once bought a garment with three dirhams. He wore it while Caliph and, cutting the two sleeves at the wrist, he said, 'Praise be to God who dresses me with this His lavishment.'[42]

Said [Sufyān] al-Thawrī and others, 'Dress in clothes that neither herald you before the learned nor debase you before the ignorant.' He used to say, 'The poor man passes [in front of][A] me while I pray, so I let him pass. But a single child of this world[B] who passes [in front of] me apparelled thus repulses me—and I shall not let him pass.'[43]

Said one man, 'I valued Sufyān's two garments and pair of sandals at one dirham and four *dāniqs*.'[C44]

And [ʿAbd Allāh] b. Shubruma [al-Qāḍī al-Kūfī] said, 'My best garment is what serves me, my worst is that which I serve.'[D45]

And someone of the First Generations said, 'Wear what [allows] you to mingle with the crowd.[E] Do not wear what heralds you and draws attention.'[46]

Said Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī, 'Clothes are of three [kinds]: clothing for God that covers nakedness; clothing for oneself sought for its softness; and clothing for people sought for its substance and beauty.'[47]

Said one man, 'Polished is the religion of him whose clothes are thinned [for wear].'[F]

The clothes of the majority of the learned scholars among the

[A] It is not recommended that one cross directly in front of someone praying.

[B] That is, a well-to-do who is used to carrying himself for adoring eyes.

[C] *Dāniq* or *dānaq* is about one-sixth of a legal dirham (cf. Allouche, *Mamluke Economics* 88).

[D] What one is forced to serve against one's interest.

[E] Lit., in the marketplace where ordinary people go.

[F] Implying one whose clothes are worn for the right purpose instead being constantly changed for show.

Generation that succeeded [the Companions] (*Tābiʿūn*) were valued at twenty to thirty dirhams.

But [Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad] al-Khawwāṣ used to wear no more than two vesture pieces and a cloth underneath, sometimes turning the tail of his vesture back over his head.[48]

And said someone of the First Generations, 'First [to be relinquished] in the ascetic [life] is [one's manner] of dressing.'[49]

In a report, 'Untidiness is a part of faith.'[A50]

And in yet another report, 'To the one who relinquishes a raiment of beauty—though able to afford it—out of humbleness before God Exalted and in search of His countenance, God will take it upon Himself to keep in store for him [part] of *the richly coloured carpet [of Paradise]*[51] with ruby seats.'[52]

God revealed to one of his prophets, 'Tell My friends not to wear the clothes of My foes and not to carry themselves as My foes do, lest they become My foes like they are My foes.'[53]

Rāfiʿ b. Khadīj [b. Rāfiʿ b. ʿAdī al-Anṣārī al-Awsī] saw Bishr [b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam al-Umawī] preaching from the pulpit at Kūfa and said, 'Look at your governor! He is preaching to the people while clad in the clothes of transgressors.' The latter had been wearing fine clothes.[54]

And ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿa went to Abū Dharr[B] in his [formal] clothing and began to speak about abstinence. Abū Dharr held the palm of his hand to his mouth and [made a sound as if] breaking wind. Ibn ʿĀmir was angered and complained to [Abd Allāh] Ibn ʿUmar, who told him, 'You brought it on yourself: you speak of abstinence before him dressed in this manner?'[55]

Said ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (may God be pleased with him), 'Verily, God Exalted has enjoined the leaders who guide to take example from the circumstances of the lowliest of people, that the wealthy may emulate them instead of reviling the poor man his poverty.'[56] And when he was scolded for the coarseness of his dress, he

[A] A lack of attention to the outward.

[B] The Companion Abū Dharr was well known for his asceticism.

replied, 'This is nearest to humbleness and more fitting for the Muslim to emulate.'[57]

The Prophet forbade [the life of] ease (*tanaʿum*), 'The servants of God are not those who live in ease.'[58]

While governor of Egypt, Fuḍāla b. ʿUbayd was once seen unkempt and barefoot. He was told, 'You are governor, yet you go thus!' His reply, 'God's Messenger (may God bless him and grant him peace) forbade us indulgence and commanded that we occasionally go barefoot.'[59]

Said ʿAlī to ʿUmar (may God be pleased with them both), 'If you wish to catch up with your two companions,[A] then mend your vesture, give your cloth a turn,[B] repair your sandals and eat without being completely sated.'[60]

And said ʿUmar, 'Harden yourselves! Beware of the foreign attire of Khosrow and Caesar.'[C61]

Said ʿAlī, 'He who dresses after the manner of a people is one of them.'[62]

Said the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace), 'The worst of my Community are those pampered with nourishment, seeking all manner of food and clothing, and those who are boastful in speech.'[63]

And he said, 'The lower garment of the faithful person reaches to the middle of his shins, but it will not be held against him if it should fall between that and his heels. Lower than that [invites] the Fire. On the Day of Resurrection, God will not look at the person who drags his lower garment behind him in vanity.'[64]

Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī told that the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) said, 'In my Community, none but the dissembler, or a fool, wears fur.'[65]

Said [Abū ʿAmr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān] al-Awzāʿī, 'Wearing wool

[A] As mentioned above in a saying from ʿUmar himself, the two companions are the Prophet and Abū Bakr.

[B] In other words, turn it inside out and wear it on the other side.

[C] The words for Persian and Byzantine kings.

while travelling is in the tradition[A] [of the Prophet], while at home it is innovation (*bidʿa*).'[66]

Muḥammad b. Wāsiʿ came upon Qutayba b. Muslim clad in a woollen coat.[B] He asked him, 'What moved you to [wear] a woollen coat?' Qutayba fell silent. Ibn Wāsiʿ said, 'I speak to you but you answer not.' Said Qutayba, 'I dislike to say "abstinence" and vindicate myself, or "poverty" and complain to my Lord.'

Said Abū Sulaymān, 'When God took Abraham as his intimate,[C] he revealed to him: Hide your private parts from the earth. He used to have only one of each thing, save for trousers, which he kept in pairs. He washed one, the other he wore to hide his private parts.'[67]

Salmān al-Fārisī was asked, 'Why do you not wear good clothes?' He replied, 'What are good clothes to a slave? When he is freed,[D] by God, he will have raiment that will never fray.'

It is related that ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz used to have a haircloth mantle and a haircloth garment he wore at night when he rose for ritual prayers.[68]

Al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī] asked Farqad al-Sabakhī, 'Do you think yourself better than [other] people for your garment? I have heard that most of the People of the Fire are people of garments worn out of hypocrisy.'

Said [Abū Zakariyā] Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn [b. ʿAwn al-Murrī], 'I saw the father of Muʿāwiya al-Aswad pick rags from the scrap heaps, then wash, patch and wear them. I told [him] he had once been better dressed than this. He replied, "What befalls [people] in this world will not harm them. In Paradise, God for them will make good every misfortune."' So, Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn took to recounting this and wept.[69]

[A] *Sunna*.

[B] The woollen coat here is a sign of poverty.

[C] Abraham is called the Friend of God, *Khalīl Allāh*, in a different sense than *walī*.

[D] When he dies.

THE THIRD [ESSENTIAL]: SHELTER. Abstinence in respect of shelter has three degrees. The highest is not to seek a special place[70] for oneself, and to be satisfied with the corners of mosques like the People of the Ledge (*Aṣḥāb al-Suffa*).

The intermediate degree is to seek a place for oneself—such as a hut made of palm fronds, a shack or something of the sort.

The lowest degree is to seek a stone construction, be it purchased or leased. If the size of the dwelling is commensurate with the person's need, without excess or ornamentation,[71] it will not debar him from the very last degree of abstinence. In seeking to construct and to use mortar or to have space and to erect a roof higher than six yards he oversteps the bounds of abstinence in [matters of] shelter.

Construction differs in 'type' according as mortar, reeds, mud or something else is used. Its measure varies [according to how] large or small it is.

With respect to 'time', its longevity differs according to whether it is owned or leased, or [just] borrowed. Abstinence pertains to all of these.

In sum, nothing demanded out of necessity ought to exceed the limit of the necessity. The measure of necessity in this world is an instrument and a means for religion. Anything surpassing this runs contrary to religion. The goal in [seeking] shelter is to avoid the rain and the cold, to fend off [watchful] eyes and [intrusive] hands.[72] In this, the lowest degree is known. Beyond it is excess, and all excess is of this world. Anyone who seeks excess and indulges in it is far from abstinence.

It is said that the first thing that appeared in [worldly] expectation after the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) was suturing and erecting. Suturing is sewing the garment's seam—[in other words] stitching up the hem. Erecting, on the other hand, is building with gypsum and baked bricks; otherwise one builds with fronds and palm branches.[73]

It is said in a report that there will come a time when people

will decorate their clothes in the manner of Yemenī garments.[74]

The Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) ordered al-ʿAbbās [b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib] to demolish the upper room[A] the latter had erected.[75]

He (may God bless him and grant him peace) once came across a lofty dome and said, 'To whom does this belong?' They told him to such-and-such a person. When that person came to him, the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) turned away and did not treat him as before. The man then asked his friends about the change[76] in the demeanour of the Messenger of God. He was informed, so he went and demolished it. The Messenger of God passed by the spot and did not see it. He was told it was razed, and so he prayed for good to be bestowed on him.[77]

Said al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī], 'The Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) died without having placed a single brick over another, or one reed over another.'[78]

Said the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace), 'When God wishes ill upon [His] servant, He dissipates his wealth in water and earth.'[B][79]

Said ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr [b. al-ʿĀṣ], 'The Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) came to us while we were restoring a hut. "What is this?" he asked. We answered that it was a hut of ours in disrepair. He said, "I see that the matter[C] may be quicker than this."'[80]

Noah took for himself a house made of reeds. When he was told he ought to build [something sturdier], he answered, 'That is plenty for one who is to die.'

Said al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī], 'We entered upon Ṣafwān al-Muḥayrīz[81] inside a house made of reeds of which he was fond. He was urged to make improvements to it. But he replied, "How many a man has died while this [hut] has stayed."'

[A] *ʿIliyya* could have been 'the dignified room of the Prophet' (Zabīdī 361).
[B] Wasted on building needlessly or for show.
[C] The Day of Reckoning.

Said the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace), 'He that builds above what suffices him will be charged with carrying it on the Day of the Resurrection.'[82]

[And in another] report, 'For every expense [he incurs], man shall be given a reward except for what he has spent on water and earth.'[A83]

And God said, *Such is the abode of the Hereafter. We shall place it for those who desire no grandeur*[B] *or mischief on earth*[84]—[this may be said to be about] leadership and [excessive] height in buildings.

Said the Prophet (may God bless him and grant him peace), 'Every edifice is an evil upon its owner on the Day of Resurrection save that which wards off the heat and the cold.'[85]

And he said to the man who complained to him about the smallness of his home, 'Expand your roominess in Heaven'—that is to say, in the Garden.[86]

On his way to Syria, ʿUmar (may God be pleased with him) saw a palace built of gypsum and baked bricks. 'God is most great!' he declared. 'I never thought anyone in this Community would build what Hāmān had built for Pharaoh'—he meant Pharaoh's words, *Light up the clay for me, O Hāmān*[87]—intending by this 'baked bricks'. It is said that Pharaoh was the first for whom construction was done with gypsum and baked bricks, and Hāmān was the first to build it, followed by the [rest of] the high and mighty (*jabābira*). This is [sheer] ornamentation.[88]

Someone of the First Generations saw a great mosque: 'I first came to this mosque when it was built with palm branches and fronds; then I saw it built with rocks, and now with mud brick. Those [who built] with fronds are better than those who built with rocks; and those who built with rocks are better than those [who built] with mud brick.'[89]

Among the First Generations were those who rebuilt their dwellings several times in their lifetimes due to the weakness of

[A] Spent in building needlessly or for show.

[B] The Arabic here is *ʿuluw*, which also means height or elevation.

their structures. They were used to curbing their expectations and forgoing perfection of structure. They included those who, upon setting off on pilgrimage or on a military campaign, disowned their houses or offered them to neighbours; when they returned [their houses] were returned. Their houses were made of grasses and skins, as is customary today among the Arabs of the Yemen.[90] The roof was the height and breadth of a man.[A]

As al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī] said, 'To enter the houses of the [Companions of] God's Messenger (may God bless him and grant him peace), I could rap on the roof with my hand.'[91]

And said ʿAmr b. Dīnār, 'If the servant [of God] were to raise a structure higher than six yards, an angel would call on him, "Where to, O ye greatest of the impious?"'[92]

Sufyān [al-Thawrī] forbade gazing at imposing structures, and said, 'Were it not for people's gazes, they would not have raised structures. Gazing disposes one to it.'[93]

Said al-Fuḍayl [b. al-ʿIyāḍ], 'I do not marvel at the person who builds then relinquishes [what he has built]. I am astonished at the one who looks but is not admonished.'[94]

Said [ʿAbd Allāh] Ibn Masʿūd, 'There [will come a time] when people will cast up the mud,[B] debase the religion, use foreign horses[C] and pray in the direction you do without dying in your religion.'[95]

THE FOURTH [ESSENTIAL]: HOME FURNISHINGS.[D] Abstinence here also has [various] degrees. The highest degree is the state of Jesus (peace be upon him and upon every elect servant), for his only company was a comb and a jug.[96] Seeing once a person combing his beard with his fingers, he cast away his own comb. Then he

[A] About six feet.

[B] Needlessly construct tall buildings.

[C] As Zabīdī points out, '*barāzīn* ' are Anatolian horses—otherwise, *khayl rūm* (Zabīdī 363).

[D] Under 'home furnishings' (*athāth al-bayt*), Ghazālī includes other possessions or possessions in general, but which do not come under food, clothing or shelter.

saw another drinking from the stream with the palm of his hand, and so cast away his jug.

This is the precept (*ḥukm*) for every furnishing required for a purpose. If it can be dispensed with, [then it is better to do without it] because it is deleterious in this world and the next.[97] Whatever cannot be dispensed with must be limited to the lowest degree—namely, earthenware in everything for which earthenware suffices, minding little its broken edges if the purpose is served.

The intermediate [degree] is to own furnishings according to need which are sound in themselves. However, a single instrument is to be used for several purposes[98]—for example, someone who uses a bowl for both eating and drinking, thereby saving on utensils. The First Generations preferred to use a single instrument to reduce [the quantity of] things [in their possession].

The highest degree[99] is when the person owns a crude kind of instrument for each need. If he surpasses this in either quantity or quality, he will have exited every door of abstinence and given [himself] over to excesses.

Let him then observe the life of God's Messenger and that of [his] Companions. Said ʿĀ'isha, 'The berth on which God's Messenger (may God bless him and grant him peace) used to lie had a cushion of skin stuffed with fibre.'[100]

Said al-Fuḍayl, 'The Messenger of God's bed was only a folded woollen cloak and a cushion of skin stuffed with fibre.'[101]

It is related that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (may God be pleased with him) entered while the Messenger of God was sleeping on a bed woven with cord. Sitting down, he saw the cord marks on the Messenger of God's side, so his eyes teared up. The Prophet asked him, 'What caused you to weep, Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb?'

He answered, 'I recalled Khosrow and Caesar and what [large] kingdom either possessed, and then I thought of you, the beloved of God, His confidant, His Messenger, sleeping on a bed of woven cord.'

God's Messenger asked, 'Are you not content, O ʿUmar, that theirs is the world and ours is the Hereafter?'[102]

'Indeed, O Messenger of God!'

'So be it,' said God's Messenger.

A man entered upon Abū Dharr and took to eyeing the inside of his house. 'Abū Dharr, I see no wares or other furnishings in your house.'

Abū Dharr replied, 'We have a house to which we have consigned our most useful wares.'[A]

'But you must have wares while you are here,' declared the man.[103]

[Abū Dharr] replied, 'The Owner of the house[B] would never allow us to [live in] it.'[104]

When ʿUmayr b. Saʿīd, the governor of Ḥomṣ, approached ʿUmar [b. al-Khaṭṭāb], the latter asked him, 'What have you of this world?'

'I have a staff on which I lean and with which I slay what serpent I find. I have with me a sack in which I carry[105] my food. I have my bowl in which to eat and wash my head and my clothes. I have with me my purification vessel in which I carry [water for] drink and for ablutions for the ritual prayer.[106] Beyond that in this world is surplus to what I have with me.'

ʿUmar [al-Khaṭṭāb] said, 'You have spoken in truth. God's mercy be upon you.'[107]

When the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) arrived from a trip, he went to Fāṭima (may God be pleased with her) and noticed a curtain on the door of her house and two silver bangles in her hands. So, he turned back.

Abū Rāfiʿ [al-Qibṭī] came in as she wept. She informed him that the Messenger of God had turned back. Abū Rāfiʿ asked the Messenger of God why [he had done so], and he answered, 'Because of the curtain and the two bangles.' Thereupon, [Fāṭima] sent them with Bilāl to the Messenger of God with the words, 'I give them in alms. Offer them where you deem

[A] Consigned them to the Hereafter.

[B] Namely, God.

proper.' Said the Prophet, 'Go and sell them, and pay them out to the People of the Ledge.'

[Bilāl] sold the two bangles for two-and-a-half dirhams, which he gave away as alms. The Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) then went to Fāṭima and told her, 'You are as dear to me as my father—you have done right.'[108]

The Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) once saw a curtain on ʿĀ'isha's door and wrenched it off, saying, 'Whenever I see it I recall the world. Take it to the house of so-and-so.'[109]

ʿĀ'isha had prepared a new bed for the Prophet, though he used to sleep on a folded cloak. That night he turned ceaselessly. When he rose he told her, 'Return to me the threadbare cloak and take away this bed from me, for it kept me awake all night.'[110]

Likewise, one night he was given five or six dinars.[111] Keeping them, he stayed up all night until he unburdened himself of them by the end of the night. Said ʿĀ'isha, 'He slept only then, until I heard his snoring. He later said, "How would Muḥammad have fared with his Lord had he met God with that in his possession?"'[112]

Said Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī], 'I met seventy of the best people who owned nothing more than what they wore. None placed a cloth between him and the ground whatsoever. When he wanted to sleep he lay on the bare ground and pulled his garment over him.'[113]

THE FIFTH [ESSENTIAL]: SPOUSE. There are those[A] who argue that abstinence from marrying—both marrying in principle and the [marrying] more than once—is meaningless. This was what Sahl b. ʿAbd Allāh [al-Tustarī] taught. He said, 'Women were made loveable to the Master of Abstinence. So, how can we renounce them?'[B][114]

[A] Namely, Sufis (Zabīdī 366).

[B] The Master of Abstinence refers to the Prophet Muḥammad. This saying refers back to a famous *ḥadīth* in which the Prophet says that three things from this world have been made loveable to him: women, scent and his comfort in prayer.

Chapter Thirteen

[Abū Muḥammad Sufyān] b. al-ʿUyayn [al-Hilālī] concurs in this,[115] 'The Companion who abstained the most was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (may God be pleased with him) and he had had four wives and ten concubines.'[116]

Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī's is the soundest pronouncement, 'All that distracts from God—wife, money or child—is ill-boding.'[117] [For a man,] a woman can distract from God.

The truth of the matter is that celibacy is better in certain situations, as discussed in the *Book of Marriage*.[A] Renouncing marriage then would constitute abstinence. But insofar as marriage is better at staving off overpowering appetite (*shahwa*), it becomes a duty (*wājib*); how then can its renunciation be abstinence?[118] If it is harmful neither to forgo nor to engage[119] in it, though he renounces marriage as a precaution against the inclination of the heart to women and the intimacy with them that detracts from the remembrance of God, then forgoing it is abstinence.

But if the man knows that the woman will not distract him from God, but forgoes marriage as a precaution against the pleasure of sight, lying together and having sexual relations, then this is not abstinence in principle. The scion[B] is intended for the perpetuation of his line, and to increase Muḥammad's Community is of the acts pleasing to God.[C] The pleasure felt by a person in those things that are necessary cannot hurt him, for they are neither what is intended nor what is sought. This is like the person who forgoes eating bread and drinking water as a precaution against the pleasure of eating and drinking. This has nothing to do with abstinence, since renunciation here would mean the expiration of the body. By the same token renouncing marriage is the cessation of the man's line.

Therefore, one may not renounce marriage in order to abstain

[A] This is chapter XII of the *Revival*, *Kitāb ādāb al-nikāḥ*, (The Book of Conduct in Marriage).

[B] The offspring of the marriage.

[C] *Qurubāt* (*qurba*, sing.).

from its pleasure when no harm is feared. This certainly is what Sahl [ʿAbd Allāh al-Tustarī] had meant, and why the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) married.

If one grants this, then abstinence has no meaning for the man whose situation is the same as that of the Messenger of God—inasmuch as he is not distracted by the many women, and his heart is not absorbed in attending to them or spending on them—but who abstains from women solely as a safeguard against the pleasure of lying with them or the pleasure of sight. And yet, how is this [situation] possible for any but the prophets and the friends [of God]? Most men are too preoccupied with women. Therefore, one must forgo the cause if it distracts. If a [man] is not distracted, but only fears becoming too preoccupied with women or the beauty of women, let him marry one who is not beautiful. And let him heed his heart in this.

Said Abū Sulaymān [al-Dārānī], 'Abstinence from women is choosing the lowly or orphaned woman[A] over the beautiful, high-born woman.'[120]

Said al-Junayd, 'I want the novice seeker (*murīd*) to keep from preoccupying his heart with three [things], otherwise his situation will change [for the worse]: earning, searching for [prophetic] reports and marrying.'[121]

He said, 'I want the Sufi neither to write nor to read—this will collect his intention.'[B]

If it becomes clear that the pleasure of marriage resembles that of eating, then one should beware of what detracts from God in both.

THE SIXTH [ESSENTIAL]: MONEY AND STATUS. The means to the five [essentials above] are money and status.

[A] Unlike a highborn woman, an orphaned woman does not bring the status of her family into the marriage.

[B] This is not intended in principle, but rather insofar as writing and reading detract from their proper purpose of bringing one closer to God. Like writing down the sayings of the Prophets, learning can turn into bookishness, an end in itself.

Status implies 'mastery over [other people's] hearts' by seeking [to gain] standing among them for acquiring support [in pursuit of] goals and actions. Anyone who cannot on his own provide for all his needs, and depends on someone else to serve him, no doubt depends on his status in the heart of the person serving him. But for this 'standing' (*mahall*) and 'worth' (*qadr*), he would not be able to avail himself of the latter's service. The gaining of standing and rank in the hearts is status.

This is the first approach [with respect to status], though a person may go to extremes[122] with it, down into a bottomless pit—for who hovers over a precipice is liable to fall into it.

A standing in the hearts [of others] is needed only to gain an advantage, repel a harm[123] or escape an injustice.

As to the 'advantage', money can manage without it. While one may not hold the employer in [great] esteem, someone who renders service for a wage will serve all the same; whereas the one who serves without a wage requires a sense of status in his heart.

'To repel a harm',[124] one needs status in a land where there is not complete justice, or where neighbours wrong each other and one cannot repel their evil save through the standing in their hearts or their standing[125] with the ruler. However, the exact measure of the need [for status] cannot be determined, especially when fear and anxiety about the consequences are involved.

Anyone absorbed in the search for status treads the path of ruin. Rather, the abstainer is pledged never to strive in the quest for standing in [people's] hearts. His preoccupation with religion and worship facilitates what standing in the hearts will keep harm at bay[126]—even among the non-believers, let alone the Muslims. In short, the suspicions and presumptions which necessitate further status are to no avail, being false imaginings. This is because in some situations the quest for status does not free one from harm. Remedying [this harm] through sufferance and patience has priority over doing so by searching for status.

In principle, therefore, the quest for standing in the hearts [of others] has no licence. A little of it leads to plenty; the craving for

it is more intense than for alcohol. One ought to guard against any quantity, large or small.

NOW TO MONEY: it is necessary for subsistence—I mean a little of it. If it is earned and the person has gained what he needs for the day, he may refrain from [further] gainful acquisition. One [abstainer] upon earning two grain measures[A] used to pick up his basket and leave. This is the condition of abstinence.[127]

If [a person] exceeds this up to what suffices for more than a year, then he will have gone beyond the range of the weak and strong abstainer alike. However, if someone owns a country estate while lacking strong certainty in [his] confidence,[B] then he may retain enough from it as income for a single year. With this quantity, he will not depart from abstinence, on condition that he give away in alms whatever exceeds his supply for the year. However, he is a weak abstainer. If trust [in God] is made a condition of abstinence, as Uways al-Qarani stipulated, then he would not be an abstainer. When we say, 'He has exceeded'[128] the limit of abstinence', we mean that he will not obtain what those who abstain have been promised regarding the abode of the Hereafter and the stations of praise. Else, the term 'abstainer' would not dissociate him from whatever excess and abundance he is abstaining from.

In all of this, the situation of a single person is easier than that of someone with a family. Abū Sulaymān [al-Dārānī] said, 'A man must not overburden his family with abstinence but only invite them to it. If they comply [well and good]; otherwise, let him leave them alone and do what he will by himself.' What this means is that the limitation stipulated for the abstainer concerns him alone and he is not obliged to impose it in full on his family. But certainly he should also not concede to them anything passing the limit of temperance. Let him learn from the Messenger of God (may God bless him and grant him peace) when he turned

[A] *Habba* is a grain measure, one unit of which is equivalent to one hundred mustard seeds. Allouche, *Mamluke Economics* 89.

[B] That is, cannot be confident to the point of being certain.

away from Fāṭima's house on account of the curtain and the two [silver] bangles,[A] since they were for embellishment rather than from need.

Therefore, the status and wealth that are necessary for a person are not proscribed. Anything above that need is a deadly poison; anything limited[129] to necessity is salutary medicine. Between them are indistinct degrees. Whatever approaches excess, while not a deadly poison, is injurious; whatever approaches necessity, while not salutary medicine, is less injurious.[130] The drinking of poison is forbidden, but the taking of medicine is a duty. What lies between them is of an ambiguous nature. He who takes precautions does so for himself; he who is remiss is remiss with himself. He who is restored to his religion and abandons what disquiets him for that which does not, who puts himself back within the limits of necessity—that person is possessed of judiciousness. He is surely in the company of the saved.

He who limits [status and money] to the measure of necessity and importance cannot be linked to the world. This measure of the world is, rather, itself religion because it is a condition of religion, and the condition is part of that for which it is a condition (*mashrūt*). This is suggested by what is recounted about Abraham—God's friend (peace be upon him)—who, struck by a need, went to a friend of his to request a loan. But the latter would not lend him and Abraham returned anxiously. God then revealed to him, 'Had you but asked your Friend, He would have given you.' So, he said, 'Lord, knowing Your odium for this world, I feared asking You anything of it.' God revealed to him, 'The need is not of this world.'[131]

Therefore, need has its [proper] scope within religion. Anything beyond that is a bale in the Hereafter, just as it is in this world. He knows this who is informed[132] about the state of the wealthy, their trials through earning, amassing and keeping wealth and the degradation they endure. Their utmost happiness

[A] See above.

in wealth is to pass it to their heirs to dispose of [as they please]. [Even so,] they may be enemies to [the person who made the bequest] and may use it to commit transgression, and so he would have facilitated their sinfulness.[133]

This is why he who amasses the world and cleaves to the appetites has been likened to the silkworm.[134] He keeps spinning until he is encased alive.[135] Then he longs to be let out but finds no rescue. Finally, he dies, damned for what he had done to himself. Similarly, everyone who follows the appetites of this world bridles his heart with chains that fasten him to that for which he pines, until he is overtaken by the chains—fettered by wealth, status, wife, child, malicious joy of foes, pretentiousness among friends and other 'good fortunes' of this world. If it should occur to him[136] [later] that he had erred in this and then he strives to part with this world,[137] he will be unable to do it. He will find his heart bound in chains and shackles he cannot cut away. If he were voluntarily to abandon something he loved, it would be tantamount[138] to killing and undermining himself. This, until the angel of death [finally] separates him from everything [he loved] in one stroke, leaving the chains upon his heart still attached to the world that has passed him by and that he has left behind. [These chains] pull him towards the world, while the talons of the angel of death fastened to his heart's veins pull him towards the Hereafter. His condition when dying is, at the very least, that of someone being cut with a saw—he is severed in two by the pulling of each side. The person who is cut with a saw is stricken in his body with pain. His heart therewith suffers the pain, whose effect spreads. What then would you think of a pain that first takes hold from the depths of heart—and this especially—instead of spreading from elsewhere!

This is his first torment. He meets with it before he beholds the sorrow of having foregone the highest of the Highest Places and nearness with the Lord of all people. Longing for the world veils one from meeting God. With the veiling, the fire of Hell overtakes him, since fire overtakes only he who is veiled. God

said, *Nay, verily from their Lord that Day will they be concealed. Then they will verily burn in the Inferno.*[139] The levels of torment by fire are commensurate with the pain of the veiling. And the pain of the veiling is sufficient without any fire added, though how much more [painful] when added!

We ask God to fasten our ears securely[A140] to what He had poured forth into the spirit of His Messenger (may God bless him and grant him peace): 'Love whom you will, for you shall part.'[141]

Similar to the example cited are the words of the poet:

> Labouring like the silkworm that spins unremittingly,
> Only to perish aggrieved in the thick that was spun.[142]

When it became clear to the friends [of God] that man destroys himself with his deeds and the passions of his soul in the manner of the silkworm, they refused the world in its entirety. So much so that al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī] said, 'I have seen seventy fighters from Badr who abstained more in what God has permitted them than you in what God has forbidden you.' And in another version, 'They were more gladdened in trial than you are in plenty and comfort. Had you but seen them, you would have thought them deranged. And if they had seen the best among you, they would have said: Worthless are these. If they had seen the worst among you, they would have said: These do not believe in the Day of Reckoning. One of them had been presented with legitimate money, but he declined it, saying, "I fear it may corrupt my heart."'[143]

He who has a heart will most certainly fear its corruption. About those whose hearts the love of this world has let die, God said, ...*and [those] who are content with the life of this world, secure in it, and who do not heed our signs.*[144] Said God, *Nor obey any whose heart We have let neglect the remembrance of Us and who follows his passions and who [knows] no bounds.*[145] And God said, *Therefore, shun those who turn away from remembrance of Us and who desire only the life of*

[A] In other words, make us listen and take to heart.

this world. That is their measure of knowledge.[146] All this He assigns to heedlessness and the lack of knowledge.

This is why a man said to Jesus (peace be upon him), 'Take me on your journey,' and [why] Jesus answered, 'Put aside what you own and follow me.' The man said that he could not. Said Jesus, 'Astonishing would be the wealthy man's entry into Paradise'—or he may have said, 'with difficulty'.[147]

Said a man, 'There is not a day that the radiant sun rises when four angels do not call out from the horizons with four voices: two angels from the east and two from the west. From the east one angel says, "O you who seek the good, come forth with it!" and "O you who seek evil, desist!" The second says, "Lord, compensate him that gives and ruin him that withholds."[A] One of the two [angels] from the west says, "Beget for death!" and "Build for destruction!"; the other, "Eat and enjoy [for your] account will be long."'[148]

[A] The generous and the miserly.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

An Exposition of the Signs of Abstinence

KNOW THAT the person who abandons his wealth is *presumed* to be an abstainer, but it is not so. Abandoning wealth and displaying a life of hardship is easy for one who loves to be praised for [his] abstinence. For how many ascetics keep to a small quantity of food each day and stay inside cloisters with no door? There may be among them one who delights in people knowing of his state, turning to him and praising him. The abstinence that this points to is not a clinching proof. On the contrary, there must be abstinence from both wealth and status—until abstinence is perfected for the totality of those things of the world with which the soul is endowed.

Indeed, there is a group who claim abstinence while dressed in fine woollen clothes or elegant apparel. [Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm] al-Khawwāṣ thus described those who claim [abstinence], 'A community claims abstinence but wears fine clothes so that people, by this affectation, may give them gifts like those they wear. One must not view them as one does the poor, to be pitied and offered what the indigent are offered. They pretend to pursue knowledge and to follow the way [of the Prophet], [and pretend] that while things may come their way, they are above them. When the truths [of the matter] are demanded of them and they are cornered, they take others to task. All that is but a worldly meal through [the pretense] of religion. [Such people] do not intend to purify their secret thoughts or to refine the character of their souls. Their

attributes triumph and subdue them, so they claim that these are a [spiritual] state of theirs. But they have a predilection for this world and they follow the passions.'[1] These are all the words of Khawwāṣ (may God have mercy upon him).

Understanding abstinence is thus a complicated affair. Nay, the case of the abstinence is complicated for the abstainer [himself], for [the abstainer] has to sustain, inside himself, three signs.

The first sign is that he neither exults over what is present nor bewails its absence. As God says, *that you may neither despair over what has passed you by nor exult over what has been bestowed upon you.*[2] Instead, the contrary should be the case—one should bewail the presence of wealth and exult over its loss.

The second sign is when blame and praise are of equal worth. Therefore, the first sign is that of abstinence from wealth, the second that of abstinence from status.

The third sign is that his intimacy be with God and that his heart be dominated by the sweetness of obedience [to Him]. For the heart can never pass up the sweetness of love, be it the love of the world or the love of God. They are in the heart like water and air in a cup. The air departs as the water enters; they are never joined. Whoever is intimate with God preoccupies himself with Him and with nothing else.

This is why someone was asked, 'To what has abstinence led them?' His reply, 'To intimacy with God.'[3]

Hence, intimacy with the world and with God cannot be joined. The people of deep understanding have held that, 'When faith is attached to the heart's exterior, [the heart] loves the world and the Hereafter, striving for both. But if faith is hidden in the deepest recesses of the heart and gladdens it, [the latter] loathes the world. It will neither look at the world nor strive for it.'

This is why the prayer of Adam (peace be upon him) contains: 'O Lord, I ask You for a faith that gladdens my heart.'

Said Abū Sulaymān [al-Dārānī], 'He who is preoccupied with himself turns away from people. This is the station of the practitioners (*ʿāmilūn*). He who is preoccupied with his Lord turns away

from himself. This is the station of the those cognisant [of God] (*ʿārifūn*).' The abstainer must be in one of these two stations. His first station is to preoccupy himself with himself. Praise and blame are the same to him, as are the presence and absence [of things].

That [the abstainer] should retain some wealth does not, in principle, suggest his lack of abstinence.

Said Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Abī al-Ḥawārī, 'I asked Abū Sulaymān if Dāʾūd al-Ṭāʾī was an abstainer (*zāhid*). He said, "Yes."

"But I have been told that he inherited twenty dinars from his father. He spent it over twenty years. How can he be an abstainer if he keeps dinars?"

'Said [Ibn Abī al-Ḥawārī], "I meant that he reached the reality of abstinence."'[A]

By 'reality', he intended the furthest limit (*ghāya*), for abstinence has no end due to the soul's many attributes. Abstinence is completed only through abstinence in all of them. Whoever abandons something of the world, while being capable of having it, fearing for both his heart and his religion, partakes of abstinence in proportion to what he abandons—the final end of which is that he abandon everything but God and not even rest his head on a rock, as the Messiah (may God grant him peace) did.

Therefore, we ask God to grant us the beginnings [of abstinence] as our share, however small. Our like dares not strive for the furthest limits [of abstinence]. Yet, to cut off hope in God's grace is disallowed. When we observe the wondrous blessings of God upon us we know that nothing is too great for Him. Therefore, we do not err in making a great request, confident of a generosity that surpasses all bounds of [worldly] perfection.

Therefore, the sign of abstinence is to equate poverty with wealth, might with lowliness, praise with blame—this,[4] because

[A] With this mention of 'reality' (or truth), Ghazālī seems to refer back, in conclusion, to the beginning of Part II, on the reality of abstinence, and thus signals the end of the discussion on abstinence.

the intimacy with God predominates. These signs[A] of course ramify into other signs; for example, renouncing this world and not fretting about who takes it.[5]

It has been said that the sign [of abstinence] is to leave this world as it is[6] without saying, 'I shall build a hospice' or 'I shall construct a mosque.'[7]

Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh [al-Rāzī] said, 'The mark of abstinence is munificence with whatever one has.'

[Abū ʿAbd Allāh] b. Khafīf said, 'Its sign[8] is the presence of serenity when giving up ownership.'[9]

He also said, 'Abstinence is for the soul to be effortlessly disinclined from this world.'

Said Abū Sulaymān [al-Dārānī], 'Wool is one of the signs of abstinence. Therefore, one must not wear wool [worth] three dirhams while, in heart, he hankers for [what is worth] five.'[10]

Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Ṣufyān [al-Thawrī] have said, 'The sign of abstinence is the curbing of expectation.'[11]

Said Sarī [al-Saqaṭī], 'There is no good in the life of the abstainer if he is distracted from himself.[B] There is no good in the life of someone cognisant [of God] if he is preoccupied with himself.'[12]

Said [Abū al-Qāsim Ibrāhīm Muḥammad] Nasrābādhī, 'The abstainer is a stranger to this world, while the cognisant [of God] is a stranger to the Hereafter.'[13]

Said Yaḥyā b. Muʿādh [al-Rāzī], 'The signs of abstinence are three: action without attachment, speech without yearning[C] and strength without overbearingness.'[14]

He also said, 'The abstainer gives you snuff of vinegar and mustard seed; the cognisant [of God] lets you smell musk and amber-tree.'[15]

A man asked him, 'When will I enter the tavern of trust [in

[A] In this sentence he reverts to the plural.
[B] From his own conduct.
[C] Yearning for approval or admiration.

God]; when will I wear the robe of abstinence; when will I sit with the abstainers?'

He answered him, 'When you betake yourself inwardly to discipline your soul to the point where, should God deprive you of livelihood for three days, you will not weaken inside yourself. Short of this level, taking your place on the carpet of the abstainers is ignorance. Yet, I am not certain you will not be disgraced.'[16]

He also said, 'This world is like a bride. He who seeks her becomes her maid. The one who abstains from her sullies her face, dishevels her and rends her garment. The cognisant is preoccupied with God Exalted; he is not distracted by her.'[17]

Said Sarī [al-Saqaṭī], 'I have practised everything in abstinence and obtained everything I wished from it except abstinence from people. I have neither attained nor mastered this.'[18]

Al-Fuḍayl said, 'God has placed all evil in one house and made the love of this world its key. And he placed all the good in one house and made abstinence from the world its key.'[19]

This, then, is what we wanted to discuss by way of the reality and precepts of abstinence. Since abstinence is incomplete without trust [in God] (*tawakkul*), we shall set forth its elucidation, God willing.[A]

[A] The following chapter of the *Revival* is *Kitāb al-tawhīd wa'l-tawakkul* (The Book of the Oneness of God and Trust in Him).

NOTES

Part I

1 A, 63: '*bayān khuṣūṣ faḍīlat al-fuqarā*"; B, 265: '*bayān faḍīlat khuṣūṣ al-fuqarā*'.

2 A, 63: '*adāb*'; B, 265: '*adab*'.

Chapter 1

1 A, 63: '*mustafād min faḍl Allāh...wujūdi*'; B, 266: '*mustafād min faḍl Allāh*'.

2 A, 63: '*li-yamuddū jūdahum bil-dawām*'; B, 266: '*li-yamuddū wujūduhum bil-dawām*'.

3 Q. XLVII.38.

4 A, 63: '*yanhasir*'; B, 266: '*tanhasir*'.

5 Jurjānī explains that abstinence is 'to abhor this world and to turn away from it; it is to abandon the repose of this world in search for the repose of the Hereafter' (Jurjānī, *Tarīfāt* 115). Cf. Qushayrī, *Risāla* 209-16; Kalābādhī, *Taʿarruf* 109-10.

6 A, 64: '*li-ḥuṣūlihi*'; B, 266: '*bi-ḥuṣūlihi*'.

7 According to Jurjānī, contentment is 'tranquillity in the absence of the familiar' (Jurjānī, *Taʿrīfāt* 179). Cf. Qushayrī, *Risāla* 126-28.

8 Jurjānī maintains that satisfaction is 'the delight of the heart with the passing of the Decree' (Jurjānī, *Taʿrīfāt* 111). Ghazālī, *Minhāj al-ʿābidīn* 242-45. Cf. Qushayrī, *Risāla* 150-54; Muḥāsibī, *Waṣāyā* 275-78; Kalābādhī, *Taʿarruf* 120-21.

9 Cf. Muḥāsibī, *Waṣāyā* 240.

10 The gist of all this seems to be the following. Below abstinence, *riḍā* merely signifies contentment with the lot that God bestows upon one, whatever its nature. Immediately below contentment is the state of satisfaction with an outcome, whereby the particular need is finally met and the material desire vanishes therewith. The desirous state is when the quest goes on unabated until the need is met. Needfulness is when the means do not match the need.

11 Makkī II.41, 195; Abū Nuʿaym II.47.

12 That the devotee must seek to acquire the names and attributes of God was widely understood. This belief is traceable to Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī (d. 331/942), who propounded the idea of *takhalluq bi-asmā' Allāh*, or 'the taking on of the names of God' (Gimaret, *Les Noms Divins* 24). However, it is predated by a kindred concept with roots in Greek antiquity. Based on an ancient maxim, Plato held that one must 'imitate God' in holiness,

justice and wisdom (*Theaetetus* 176b). This maxim was echoed later by a famous Islamic votary of Greek thought, Abū Bakr b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī (d. 313/925)—known in the West as Rhazes. Rāzī openly quoted it but used the Arabic word *tashabbuh* for 'imitation', rather than the *takhalluq* of the Islamic mystics (i.e., 'taking on God's attributes'). As God is absolutely knowledgeable, just and merciful, so the servants *nearest* (*aqrab*) to Him are the most knowledgeable, just and merciful (Rāzī 108). The position of Qushayrī (d. 465/1072), an important source for many of Ghazālī's views on abstinence, was that God's servant draws near (*qurb*) when obedience and equity persist over time (Qushayrī, *Risāla* 70). Cf. Ghazālī A, 87.

13 This expression is taken from the famous *hadīth*: 'The hearts of the children of Adam all lie between two of the fingers of the All-Merciful—like a single heart directed by Him wherever He pleases.' (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ* II, '*Kitāb al-qadar*', '*Bāb taṣrīf Allāh*' 457)

14 Q. L.16.

15 B, 268: '*fa-innahu aqrab ilayka minka*'; missing in A, 65.

16 A, 65: '*fa-kadhālika*'; B, 268: '*fa-lidhālika*'.

17 A, 65: '*yajmaᶜ*'; B, 269: '*jamaᶜa*'.

18 A, 66: '*hāl*'; B, 269: '*hāla*'.

19 A, 66: '*al-dunyā*'; B, 269: '*baghḍ al-al-dunyā*'.

20 Many sayings about the 'world' and its renunciation are attributed to Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī. Qushayrī quotes him as saying, 'When the world dwells in the heart, the Hereafter departs.' (Qushayrī, *Risāla* 25). He is also believed to have uttered, 'He who wrestles the world is wrestled by it.' (Sulamī 77).

21 Cf. Ghazālī, '*al-Ḥikma fī makhlūqāt Allāh*', '*Bāb fī ḥikmat khalq al-mā'*', in *Majmūᶜat al-Imām al-Ghazālī*, 19.

22 A, 67: '*zāda*'; B, 270: '*zahada*'.

23 With some variation, Makkī I.32, 267.

24 A, 67: '*khāf*'; B, 271: '*yakhāf*'.

25 A, 68: '*haqihim*'; B, 271: '*haqihi*'.

26 A, 68: '*ᶜarafta idhan*'; B, 271: '*ᶜarafta anna al-marātib idhan*'.

27 A, 68: '*wa-aᶜlāhā*'; B, 271: '*wa-anna aᶜlāhā*'.

28 '*Fa-lā wajh lahā bi-hādhā al-maᶜnā*' is missing in B, 271.

29 Wensinck IV.425.

30 Qushayrī, *Risāla* 214.

31 Makkī II.41, 192; Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, '*Kitāb al-zuhd*', 138, no. 4126.

Chapter 2

1 Q. LIX.8.

2 Q. II.273.

3 Makkī II.41, 192; I.32, 263.

4 Makkī II.41, 192; I.32, 263.

5 Makkī II.41, 192; Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-zuhd*', 1380, no. 4121; Wensinck IV.282.

6 Makkī II.41, 192; Sarrāj, *al-Luma*ᶜ 272. Ascetics often point out that God will admit the poor into

Paradise five hundred years and half-a-day before the rich. (Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-zuhd*', 1380, no. 4122; al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan* IV.24, '*Abwāb al-zuhd*', 8, nos. 2457-58; Qushayrī, *Risāla* 209.)

7 Tirmidhī, *Sunan* IV.24, 8, no. 2457.

8 A, 70: '*daraja*'; B, 273: '*darajatayn*'.

9 Q. LXIII.3-4

10 Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, '*K. taᶜbīr al-ruᶜyā*,' 1282, no. 3893; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ* II, '*K. al-ruᶜyā*' 8, 450; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* IX, '*K. taᶜbīr al-ruᶜyā*,' 56, no. 115; Tirmidhī, *Sunan* III, '*Abwāb al-ruᶜyā*,' 363, no. 2372. For a later and more mystical commentary on the expression *al-ruᶜyā al-ṣāliḥa*, see Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulsī, *Taᶜṭīr al-anām*, '*al-Muqaddima*', 1.

11 Jurjānī defined 'the reality of a thing' (*ḥaqāᶜiq al-ashyāᶜ*) as 'the thing as it is in itself,' adding that it may refer to both what a thing is by definition and its specific identity or ipseity (*huwiyya*) (Jurjānī, *Taᶜrīfāt*, 90). The term *ḥaqāᶜiq al-ashyāᶜ*, often used interchangeably with *ḥuqāᶜiq al-umūr* (cf. Ghazālī, *al-Munqidh min al-ḍalāl*, 10), was employed down the centuries (Ibn Sīnā, *Taᶜlīqāt*, 34-5; '*K. al-mantiq*,' *al-Shifāᶜ*, 12; cf. van Ess, *Die Erkenntnislehre*, 187-200) and figures in both *kalām* and *falsafa*. (e.g., Qunawī, *Ijāz al-bayān*, 130; Ibn ᶜArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya* I.92-95:150). On the philosophical implication of the concept of 'realities of things', see Shaker, *Thinking in the Language of Reality*. Generally, 'realities of things' is an intellectual device with which to approach the highest order of knowledge—namely, knowledge of God.

12 Jurjānī defined *kashf* as 'the perception of what unseen entities and real things lie hidden behind the veil' (*Taᶜrīfāt* 184), irrespective of what these things happen to be.

13 A, 70: '*anna lahu*'; B, 274: '*annahu lahu*'.

14 *Lawḥ maḥfūẓ* refers to the tablet on which the Qurʾān is inscribed, the eternal repository of all knowledge. The term is found in the Qurʾān (Q. LXXXV.22). A well-rounded description of 'tablet' (*lawḥ*) showing how 'preserved tablet' figures in the scheme of things, containing several more meanings, is found in Jurjānī, *Taᶜrīfāt*, 193

15 A, 70: '*juzᵓ wāḥid min jumlatihā*'; B, 274: '*wāḥida min jumlatihā*'.

16 A, 70: '*wa-ka-dhālik*'; B, 274: '*wa-dhālik*'.

17 A, 71: '*quwwat al-bashar*'; B, 274: '*quwwat aḥad*'.

18 Makkī I.32, 263; II.41, 192. Wensinck, *Concordance* V.187.

19 Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl min al-kāfī* II, '*K. al-īmān wa'l-kufr*' (*Bāb dhamm al-dunyā wa'l-zuhd fīhā*), 129, no.8; Zabīdī 275.

20 Makkī I.32, 264.

21 Makkī I.32, 264.

22 A, 72: '*bi-dhālik*'; missing in B.

23 Q. XX.131.

24 Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* III, '*K. istiqrāḍ al-ibl*', 335, no. 8. This *ḥadīth* related by Ṭabarānī has a weak chain of authority (ᶜIrāqī 71-2).

Zabīdī lists several authorities who related it (Zabīdī 275).

25 Makkī 1.32, 243; Sarrāj, *al-Lumaᶜ* 74. This is a weak *ḥadīth* (ᶜIrāqī 72).

26 Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-zuhd*' 1387, 4141.

27 Abū Nuᶜaym VI.37; Makkī, 1.32, 244.

28 A, 72: '*fa-lam yakhruj fihā shay*'' ; B, 276: '*fa-lam yakhruj minhā*'.

29 A, 72: '*al-aghniyā wa'l-nisā*' ; B, 276: '*al-aghniyā*'. Makkī 1.32, 242, with slight variation; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥiḥ* IV, '*K. bad' al-khalq*', 240-41, no. 51, and a variant in *Ṣaḥiḥ*, VIII, '*K. al-riqāq*', 172, no. 36; Tirmidhī, *Sunan* IV.9, '*Abwāb ṣifāt jahannam*', 115, no. 2729.

30 Zabīdī 276.

31 Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥiḥ* VIII, '*K. al-raqā'iq*', 306, no. 450.

32 Makkī 1.32, 243; Sarrāj, *al-Lumaᶜ* 74.

33 Makkī 1.32, 243. Those Companions said to have been admitted into Heaven are listed in Tirmidhī, *Sunan* V.98, '*Abwāb al-manāqib*', 311, no. 3830. They were sometimes said to number ten (*ibid.*, V.98, 312, no. 3832, see n. 55 below).

34 Zabīdī 277; Gramlich 410.

35 Makkī 1.32, 256. Matthew 19:23 ('Truly, I say to you, it will be hard for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven'); cf. Mark 10:23; Luke 18:24.

36 A, 73: '*ahl al-bayt*'; B, 277: '*āl-bayt*'.

37 Makkī 1.32, 243.

38 ᶜIrāqī 73.

39 Makkī II.41, 194.

40 Makkī II.41, 194, but with '*al-ghinā*' ('wealth').

41 Makkī 1.32, 263.

42 A, 74: ''Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn al-Fazārī'; B, 277: ''Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn b. Badr al-Fazārī'.

43 Q. XVIII.28.

44 Q. XVIII.28.

45 Q. XVIII.28.

46 Q. XVIII.29.

47 Q. LXXX.1-4.

48 Q. LXXX.5-6. Qushayrī, *Laṭā'if al-ishārāt*. III.688; Baydāwī 784-85.

49 Cf. Bayḍāwī 784; Gharnāṭī, *al-Tashīl li-ᶜulūm al-tanzīl* 768.

50 A, 75: '*yawma'idhin qad*'; B, 278: '*qad*'.

51 Gramlich 413.

52 A, 75: '*fa-idhan fihi*'; B, 279: '*fa-idhan fihim*'.

53 A, 75: '*fa-qult*'; B, 279: '*qul*'.

54 A, 75: '*fa-aḍarr bi-hinna*'; B, 279: '*fa-aḍarrahum*'.

55 A, 75: '*wa-Llāhi*'; B, 279: '*amma wa-Llāhi*'.

56 Variant found in Abū Nuᶜaym 1.150.

57 According to the most authoritative *Sunan* works of *ḥadīth*, the persons 'marked for Paradise' were Abū Bakr, ᶜUmar, ᶜUthmān, ᶜAlī, Ṭalḥa b. ᶜUbayd Allāh, al-Zubayr b. al-ᶜAwwām, Saᶜd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. ᶜAwf, Saᶜīd b. Zayd, Abū ᶜUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ (Zabīdī 280). Abū Dā'ūd, *Sunan* IV, '*K. al-Sunna*', 212, no. 4649; Tirmidhī, *Sunan*, V.98, '*Abwāb al-manāqib*', 312, no. 3832; Ibn Māja, *Sunan* I, '*Muqaddima*', 48, nos. 133-134.

Notes

58 Cf. Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-zuhd*', 1383-84, no. 4129-31; Bukharī, *Ṣaḥiḥ* III, '*K. istiqrāḍ al-ibl*', 337, no. 573.

59 Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-zuhd*', 1378, no. 4115; Tirmidhī, *Sunan* IV.II, '*Abwāb ṣifāt jahannam*', 116, no. 2732; Sarrāj, *al-Lumaᶜ* 34 (*Bāb al-radd*).

60 B, 280: '*bi-abī anta wa-ummī*'; missing in A.

61 A, 76: '*shiddī bi-hā ᶜalā ra'sik*'; B, 280: '*shiddī bi-ha ra'sik*'.

62 Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥiḥ* V, '*K. al-manāqib*', 105, 255.

63 Zabīdī 281; Gramlich 415.

64 Makkī 1.32, 266. Zabīdī corrects Abū al-Dardā' to Abū Dharr.

65 A, 77: '*fa-yastakhraj*'; B, 281: '*wa-yakhraj*'. This is an abridged version of a longer story (Zabīdī 281). Abū Nuᶜaym 1.244-247.

66 Zabīdī 282.

67 Makkī 1.258; Abū Nuᶜaym VI.365.

68 A, 77: '*min al-faqr*'; B, 282: '*al-faqr*'.

69 Zabīdī 282.

70 Makkī 1.32, 243.

71 Makkī II.41, 195.

72 Makkī 1.32, 259; Tirmidhī, *Sunan* III.37, '*Abwāb al-libās*', 155, no. 1839.

73 Qushayrī, *Risāla* 210; Makkī II.41, 195.

Chapter 3

1 Makkī 1.32, 260; Tirmidhī, *Sunan* IV.22, 7, no. 2453; Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-zuhd*', 1386, no. 4138.

2 This tradition is considered very weak (ᶜIrāqī 78). Makkī II.41, 194.

3 A, 78: '*anna*'; B, 283: '*bi-anna*'.

4 A, 79: '*hum julasā'*'; B, 283: '*julasā'*'. Qushayrī, *Risāla* 210; Suhrawardī, *ᶜAwārif al-maᶜārif* 53.

5 Cf. Zabīdī 283. Makkī II.41, 194.

6 Makkī 1.32, 259 (variant); Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-zuhd*', 1387, no. 4139; Tirmidhī, *Sunan* IV.25, '*Zuhd*', 10, no. 2466; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥiḥ* VIII.17, 312, no. 467.

7 Makkī 1.32, 260 (variant); Ibn Māja II, '*K. al-zuhd*', 1387, no. 4140; al-Ḍaḥḥāk, *K. al-zuhd* 131.

8 Makkī 1.32, 264; II.41, 192.

9 Makkī II.41, 192.

10 Cf. Iraqī 79; Zabīdī 283.

11 *Qināᶜa* (cf. Qushayrī, *Risāla* 126-28).

12 Abū Nuᶜaym 1.50.

13 A, 80: '*hadam*'; B, 284: ''*adam*'.

14 Gramlich 419.

15 A, 80 and B, 284: ''*Abd Allāh*'. The passage also begins '*yā Abā ᶜAbd Allāh*' (Zabīdī 284), missing in B.

16 A, 80: ''*awḍan*'; B, 284: ''*arḍ*'.

17 A, 80: '*Muḥammad b. Wāsiᶜ*'; B, 284: '*Muḥammad b. Wāsiᶜ al-Baṣrī*'.

18 Q. LI.22-3.

19 A, 80: '*Abū Dharr ... yawman*'; B, 284: '*Abū al-Dardā'*'.

20 A, 80: '*atajlis*'; B, 284: '*tajlis*'.

21 *Mukhiff* refers to someone who is burdened by neither money nor state (*Lisān al-ᶜArab* 9:80). Ibn ᶜAbd al-Qādir al-Rāzī *Mukhtār al-Ṣaḥāḥ* 182: '*Dāna bayna aydaynā ᶜaqabatan ka'udan lā yajūzuhā illā al-mukhiff.*'

22 Fragment in Abū Nuʿaym I.226.

23 A, 81: '*taṭruquhu*'; B, 285: '*yaṭruquhu*'.

24 A, 81: '*yalqa*'; B, 285: '*lam yabqa*'.

25 Cf. Gramlich 421.

Chapter 4

1 Cf. Zabīdī 285.

2 A, 82: '*al-khabār*'; B, 286: '*al-khabār anna*'.

3 A, 82: '*fa-ʿāda al-fuqarā*'; B, 286: '*fa-ʿādū al-fuqarā*'.

4 A, 82: '*fa-akhbarūhu*'—missing in B.

5 Q. v.54. Makkī I.32, 262.

6 The poor were first told, 'If you do this, no one shall rival you nor reach you...' (Zabīdī 286). This statement determines the general sense of the report.

7 A, 82: '*bi'l-khayr*'; B, 287: '*bi'l-janna*'.

8 A, 82: '*qāla al-nabī*'; B, 287: '*qāla al-rasūl*'.

9 A, 83: '*fa-akhbarahum bi-mā qāla rasūl Allāh*'—missing in B.

10 Makkī I.32, 262.

11 A, 83: '*qālū inna*'; B, 287: '*qālū*'.

12 A, 83: '*al-faqr*'; B, 287: '*al-fuqarā*''.

13 Makkī I.32, 264; Hujwīrī, *Somme spirituelle* 47.

14 Makkī I.32, 264; Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-zuhd*', 1397, no. 4173; Suhrawardī, *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif* 30, 243.

15 Cf. Makkī I.32, 264; Zabīdī 287-88.

16 A, 83: '*al-ʿilm wa'l-maʿrifa*' (knowledge and learning); B, 288: '*al-ʿilm wa'l qudra*' (knowledge and power). In his commentary Zabīdī inserts '*wa'l-maʿrifa*'.

17 A, 83: '*al-jahl wa'l-ghafla*' (ignorance and heedlessness); B, 288: '*al-jahl wa'l-ʿajz*' (ignorance and incapacity). Zabīdī inserts '*wa'l-ghafla*'.

18 A, 89: '*al-ghafla ʿalā al-ʿilm*' (heedlessness over knowledge); B, 288: '*al-ghafla wa'l-ʿajz ʿalā al-ʿilm wa'l-qudra*' (heedleness and incapacity over knowledge and power').

19 Cf. Zabīdī 288.

20 A, 84: '*al-maḥrūm ʿanhā*'; B, 288: '*al-maḥrūm minhā*'.

21 A, 84: '*bi-iʿtibār al-akbar*'; B, 289: '*bi-iʿtibār al-akthar*'.

22 Abū Nuʿaym I.100, with slight variation.

23 A, 84: '*al-aṣār al-kathīra*'; B, 289: '*al-amṣār al-kathīra*'.

24 Makkī I.32, 262.

25 Makkī I.32, 262.

26 The dinar and the dirham are mentioned together for emphasis. Makkī I.32, 262.

27 Cf. Q. VII.148.

28 Q. XII.24. This verse appears in the chapter on Joseph and his temptation by the wife of Potiphar.

29 Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* VIII, '*K. al-riqāq*', 171, no. 33; Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-zuhd*', 1386, no. 4137; Tirmidhī, *Sunan* IV.27, 15, no. 2479.

30 A, 85: '*ʿuzūbihi*'; B, 290: '*ʿuzūfihi*'.

31 A, 85: '*qadam*'; B, 290: '*al-qadam*'.

32 A, 85: '*aw*'; B, 290: '*wa*'.

33 A, 85: '*idhan annahu*'; B, 290: '*annahu idhan*'.

34 A, 85: '*al-ramād*'; B, 290: '*al-rimād aw al-zinād*'.

35 A, 85: '*ka-ta'thīrihā*'; B, 290: '*ka-ta'thīrih*'.

36 Makkī I.32, 262.

37 This entire sentence is missing in B. Makkī II.41, 192.

38 Makkī I.32, 256; II.41, 192.

39 Makkī I.21, 262.

40 Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* I, '*K. al-ʿilm*', 51, no. 44.

41 Abū Nuʿaym I.209; Ibn Ḥanbal, *K. al-zuhd* 58.

42 A, 86: '*Sufyān*'; B, 291: '*Shaqīq*'. Cf. Gramlich 428.

43 A, 86: '*wa'l-māl yataṣawwar zawāluhu bi-an yusraq*'; B, 291: '*wal-māl yataṣawwar an yusraq*'.

44 Cf. Zabīdī 291-92; . *Takhalluq* here is only marginally related to *akhlāq*, if *akhlāq* is taken to refer to the Greek-inspired system of Islamic ethics. As an integral part of the Peripatetic commentary tradition, ethics in this sense was the 'practical science' that governed human conduct. On *Akhlāq* as a discipline, see 'Khulq', in A.-M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā*, 112-3. Having written in this genre, Ghazālī here refers more to the practice of adopting what realities (*maʿānī*) of God's attributes and names God makes discernible of His Essence.

45 Zabīdī 292; Gramlich 429.

46 A, 87: '*yastaḥiqquh*'; B, 292: '*yastaḥiqq*'.

47 A, 87: '*bi-annah*'; B, 292: '*bi-anna*'.

48 A, 87: '*fī ṣifāt*'; B, 293: '*min ṣifāt*'.

49 A, 87: '*ṣāra dhālika al-ʿilm naqṣānan*'; B, 293: '*ṣāra dhālika*'.

50 Since knowledge as a divine attribute represents a perfection for its human receptacle, it can never actually cause harm. There is harm only when the quality of knowledge acquired is 'deficient' or inadequate. The recipient of this incomplete quality stands to suffer because, while incomplete, his knowledge appears merely in the guise of a noetic perfection, with the attendant consequence.

51 Cf. Zabīdī 293.

52 *Supra* 'An Exposition of the Distinctive Excellence of the Poor who are Contented, who are Satisfied and who are Sincere,' n. 6. Makkī I.32, 259; Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-zuhd*', 1387, no. 4139; Tirmidhī, *Sunan* IV.25, '*Zuhd*', 10, no. 2466; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ* VIII.17, 312, no. 467.

53 Qushayrī, *Risāla* 214.

54 Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-zuhd*', 1378, no. 4113.

55 Ghazālī, '*K. al-ʿilm*', *Iḥyā'* 1.94; cf. Zabīdī 294.

56 A, 88: '*al-wājid lil-dunyā al-qādir ʿalayhā*'; B, 294: '*al-wājid bil-dunyā lil-dunyā*'.

57 Qushayrī, *Risāla* 214.

58 A, 89: '*li-faqd*'; B, 294: '*bi-faqd*'.

Chapter 5

1 A, 89: '*wa-hādhā aqall darajātih*'. This part is missing in B.

2 Makkī II.41, 194. This tradition is considered very weak (ʿIrāqī 78).

3 A, 89: '*ʿalāmāt*'; B, 295: '*ʿalāma*'.

4 A, 89: '*ʿalāmātih*'; B, 295: '*ʿalāmatih*'.

5 Makkī II.32, 193. Jurjānī defines *qaḍā'* as the *general* decree of God in respect of every existent thing until the end of time (*Kitāb al-taʿrīfāt*, 177). The term is usually contrasted with *qadar*, or the connection of the essential Divine will with existent things within their specific times (*ibid.*, 174).

6 Makkī II.41, 195.

7 *Al-taʿaffuf wa'l-tajammul* is an old Arabic expression. Literally, *taʿaffuf* refers to 'the remainder of the milk in the udder or teat'; while *tajammul* refers to the fat that melts and then 'recollects', and when eaten makes young women beautiful (*akl al-jamīl*) (*Lisān al-ʿArab* XI.127). *Tajammul* is taken as *akl al-jamīl*, which in turn is synonymous with *al-shaḥm al-mudhab*.

8 *Supra* 'An Exposition: The Excellence of Absolute Poverty'. Makkī II.41, 192; Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-zuhd*', 1380, no. 4121.

9 Q. II.273.

10 Makkī II.41, 194.

11 Zabīdī 295.

12 Zabīdī 295.

13 Makkī II.41, 194.

14 Makkī II.41, 196; Abū Nuʿaym VI.387 (deformed).

15 A, 90: '*khālata al-faqīr*'; B, 296: '*māla al-faqīr*'. Makkī II.41, 196.

16 Zabīdī 296.

17 A, 90: '*ʿan ʿibāda*'; B, 296: '*ʿan ʿibādat Allāh*'.

18 A, 90: '*miʾat alf dirham*'; B, 296: '*miʾat alf*'.

19 A, 90: '*bihi nafsuh*'; B, 296: '*bihā nafsuh*'.

20 ʿIrāqī 90; Gramlich 433.

21 A, 90: '*an lā yaddakhir illā li-yawmih*'; B, 296: '*an yaddakhir li-yawmih*'. Makkī II.41, 194.

22 Makkī II.41, 194.

23 *Khuṣūṣ al-khuṣūṣ*. For this term, see Sarrāj, *al-Lumaʿ* 365.

24 A, 91: '*wa-huwa qism*'; B, 296: '*minhunna*'.

Chapter 6

1 Cf. Abū Dāʾūd, *Sunan* III, '*K. al-buyūʿ*', 290, no. 3536.

2 Makkī II.41, 199.

3 Abū Dāʾūd, *Sunan* III, '*K. al-buyūʿ*', 394, no. 3537; Makkī II.41, 199.

4 Makkī II.41, 196.

5 Makkī II.41, 199.

6 Makkī II:41, 200.

7 Makkī II.41, 199.

8 A, 93: '*mā ajid*'; B, 298: '*mā ahad*'.

9 Makkī II.41, 200.

10 A, 93: '*hil*'; B, 298: '*annahu hil*'.

11 A, 93: '*bih*'; B, 298: '*bihim*'.

12 Makkī II.41, 200.

13 A, 93: '*lā budd lahu minhu*'; B, 298: '*lā budd minhu*'.

14 Makkī II.41, 198.

15 Makkī II.41, 196.

16 Makkī II.41, 198.

17 Makkī II.41, 198.

18 A, 94: '*wa*'; B, 299: '*aw*'.

19 A, 94: '*yaqiʿ fih*'; B, 299: '*yaqiʿ fi himā*'.

20 A, 94: '*maqāmān*'; B, 299: '*maqāmāt*'.

21 Cf. Zabīdī 299-300 on the various stations.

22 *Ihyāʾ* III, '*K. asrār al-zakāt*', 249.

23 Cf. *Lisān al-ʿarab* IV.156.

24 Makkī II.41, 196.

25 Q. XVIII.7.

26 Makkī II.41, 198.

27 A, 95: '*lā tadkharuhu*'; B, 301: '*lā tadkhar*'.

28 A, 95: '*bihi*'; missing in B.

29 A, 95: '*zakāt*'; B, 301: '*zakawāt*'.

30 Q. LXV.7.

31 Makkī II.41, 199. For the expression *husn al-zann*, see Tirmidhī, *Sunan* II, '*Abwāb al-zuhd*', 23, no. 2496.

32 Makkī II.41, 199.

33 A, 96: '*illā shāban minhum*'; B, 301: '*illā shāban*'.

34 Makkī II.41, 200.

35 Makkī II.41, 200.

Chapter 7

1 Abū Dāʾūd, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-zakāt*', 126, no. 1665.

2 Zabīdī 303; Gramlich 441.

3 Zabīdī 303.

4 Makkī II.41, 193.

5 Ibn Māja, *Sunan* I, '*K. al-zakāt*', 588-89, no. 1838.

6 Makkī II.41, 193; Abū Dāʾūd, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-zakāt*', 116, no. 1626; Ibn Māja, *Sunan* I, '*K. al-zakāt*', 589, no. 1840.

7 Makkī II.41, 193; Abū Dāʾūd, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-zakāt*', 121, no. 1642; Ibn Māja, *Sunan* I, '*K. al-zakāt*', 588, no. 1837.

8 Makkī II.41, 193.

9 Makkī II.41, 193.

10 A, 98: '*naẓara*'; B, 305: '*naẓara ilayhi*'.

11 Cf. Makkī II.41, 193.

12 A, 98: '*wa-huwa*'; B, 305: '*wa-hādhā*'.

13 A, 99: '*tamyīz dhālika*'; B, 305: '*tamyīzuhu dhālika*'.

14 A, 99: '*al-Ṣūfī al-ṣāliḥ*'; B, 305: '*al-Ṣūfī wa'l-ṣāliḥ*'.

15 A, 99: '*li-maʿṣiyya*'; B, 305: '*li-maʿṣiyyatihi*'.

16 A, 99: '*immā an*'; B, 305: '*innamā*'.

17 Cf. Makkī II.41, 193.

18 A, 100: '*yasʾal al-kirāʾ li-faras*'; B, 306: '*yasʾal li-kirāʾ al-faras*'.

19 A, 100: '*al-maḥmil*'; B, 306: '*al-jamal*'.

20 A, 100: '*fa-bi-an yasʾal*'; B, 306: '*fa-an*'.

21 A, 100: '*shakhṣan muʿayyanan*'; B, 307: '*muʿayyanan*'.

22 A, 100: '*law taghāfal ʿanhu*'; B, 307: '*law taghāfal*'.

23 A, 101: '*bi-anna*; B, 307: '*fa-anna*'.

24 A, 101: '*ibtadāhu*'; B, 307: '*aʿṭāhu*'.

25 A, 101: '*huwa*'; B, 307: '*hādhā*'.

26 A, 101: '*innama aḥkumu*' B, 307: '*innamā anā aḥkumu*'.

27 Cf. Zabīdī 307.

28 Q. XI.45; XCV.8.

29 Dārimī, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-buyūʿ*', 320, no. 2533.

30 A, 101: '*min*'; B, 307: '*ʿan*'.

31 A, 101: '*min*'; B, 307: '*ʿan*'.

32 A, 101: '*mā akhadhahu*'; B, 307: '*mā yaʾkhudhuhu*'.

33 A, 101: '*al-sabīl ilā al-khalāṣ minhu*'; B, 307: '*al-sabīl fīhi*'.

34 A, 101: '*min aḥad aṣlan*'; B, 307: '*min Sarī*'.

35 A, 101: '*yataʾakkad al-amr*'; B, 307: '*wal-amr*'.

36 A, 101: '*yakūn al-sāʾil*'; B, 307: '*yakūn*'.

37 A, 102: '*laḥm*', missing in B, 308.

38 A, 102: '*al-kabsh wal-samn*'; B, 308: '*al-kabsh*'.

39 A, 102: '*ṭalaban*'; B, 308: '*ṭamʿan*'.

40 Makkī II.41, 193.

41 A, 102: '*lā shakk fī annahum*'; B, 308: '*lā shakk annahum*'.

42 A, 102: '*yataraddad* '; B, 308: '*tataraddad* '.

43 Dārimī, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-buyūʿ*', 320, no. 2533.

44 Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, '*K. tijārāt*', 723, no. 2137.

45 Zabīdī 308; Gramlich 448.

46 A, 103: '*warathahu*'; B, 308: '*mimmā warathahu*'.

47 A, 103: '*bi-suʾāl*'; B, 309: '*li-suʾāl*'.

48 A, 103: '*iktasabtuhu bi-ḥalālilika anta*'; B, 309: '*iktasabtuhu anta*'.

49 A, 103: '*siʿat jūdihi fa-innahu ʿalā mā yashāʾu qadīr*'; B, 309: '*wa karamihi wa jūdihi*'.

Chapter 8

1 Ibn Māja, *Sunan* I, '*K. al-zakāt*', 588–589, no. 1838.

2 Zabīdī 309.

3 Makkī II.41, 193; Abū Dāʾūd, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-zakāt*', 117, no. 1629 (without 'gold').

4 Makkī II.41, 193.

5 Cf. Makkī II.41, 198.

6 A, 103: '*fa-li-yajʿal*'; B, 310: '*fa-li-yajʿal*'.

7 A, 104: '*wa-ammā al-thānī*', B, 310: '*wa-ammā al-bāqī*'.

8 A, 104: '*jamīʿan*'; B, 310: '*jamīʿihi*'.

9 A, 104: '*alā wāḥid wa-min al-naw*°'; B, 310: '*alā naw*ʾ *wāḥid wa-min al-naw*°'.

10 A, 104: '*furṣatuhu*'; B, 310: '*furṣa*'.

11 A, 104: '*mā lā yaḥtāj*'; B, 310: '*mā lā yaḥtāj ilayhi*'.

12 Cf. Zabīdī 310.

13 A, 104: '*ʿammā*'; B, 310: '*ʿamman*'.

14 A, 105: '*fīhā yaḥtā*'; B, 311: '*yaḥtā fīhā*'.

15 A, 105: '*sabīl al-ākhira*'; B, 311: '*ṭarīq al-ākhira*'.

16 Q. III.175. Qushayrī, *Laṭāʾif al-ishārāt*. I.298; Baydāwī 96–7.

17 Q. II.268.

18 A, 105: '*mubāḥān*'; B, 311: '*mubāḥ*'.

19 A, 105: '*nasʾal*'; B, 311: '*fa-nasʾal*'.

Chapter 9

1 Cf. Q. LXXXIII.18–9. They dwell in the 'Highest Places' because they are far removed from worldly attachments (Zabīdī 311), but always with a view to the Hereafter, to which the term High Places refers.

Cf. Qushayrī, *Laṭāʾif al-ishārāt* III.701; Winter 137, n. A.

2 Cf. Q. XVIII.107.

3 Cf. Q. LVI.27. Makkī II.41, 194. Three kinds of poor are mentioned by Qushayrī (Qushayrī, *Risāla* 153). Cf. Sarrāj, *Lumaʿ* 75.

4 A, 105: '*al-faqa*'; B, 311: '*al-faqr*'.

5 A, 106: '*qad*'; B, 311: '*fa-qad*'.

6 Makkī II.41, 195; Qushayrī, *Risāla* 179.

7 A, 106: "*alā*'; B, 312: '*fī*'.

8 A, 106: '*ilā qilāʿihā*'; B, 312: '*ilā salāsihā*'.

9 Cf. Q. XCV.4–5.

10 A, 106: '*qaṭʿan*'; B, 312: '*muṭlaqan*'.

11 A, 106: '*wa lākin bil-idāfah ilā kalihi*'. This entire phrase is missing in B, 312.

12 A, 106: '*Abū Isḥāq al-Nūrī*'; B, 312: '*Abū al-Ḥasan al-Nūrī*'.

13 A, 106: '*fi al-ākhira*'; B, 312: '*min al-ākhira*'.

14 A, 106: '*lā yadurruhum*'; B, 312: '*lā yadurruhu*'.

15 Zabīdī 312; Gramlich 453.

16 Makkī II.41, 201; cf. Zabīdī 312.

17 A, 106: '*ilā al-Nūrī*'; B, 313: '*ilā al-Nūrī ʿalā al-amr*'.

18 A, 106: '*minka anta*'; B, 313: '*minka*'.

19 Q. XII.18; Makkī II.41, 201.

20 A, 107: '*wāḥid minhum*'; B, 313: '*wāḥid*'.

21 A, 107: '*wāfin min al-jahl*'; B, 313: '*wāfirin min al-jahl*'.

22 A, 107: '*al-qulūb*'; B, 313: '*al-uqūl*'.

23 Q. III.7. Zabīdī 313–14.

Part II

1 A, 107: '*durūb al-maʿīsha*'; B, 317: '*darūrāt al-maʿīsha*'.

Chapter 10

1 Cf. *Wasāyat al-Imām al-Aʿẓam*, third treatise in *al-Rasāʾil al-sabʿa fī al-ʿaqāʾid*.

2 Cf. Q. XLIX.14.

3 A, 108: '*al-ʿamal yajrī*'; B, 317: '*al-ʿamal*'.

4 A, 108: '*fa-naʿnī bihā*'; B, 317: '*fa-naʿnī bihi*'.

5 A, 108: '*zāhid*'; B, 318: '*zuhd*'.

6 A, 108: '*al-turāb wa-mā ashbahahu*'; B, 318: '*al-turāb wa'l-ḥasharāt*'.

7 A, 108: '*zuhd*'; B, 318: '*zāhid*'.

8 A, 108: '*raghba fīhi*'; B, 318: '*raghba*'.

9 Q. XII.20. Qushayrī, *Laṭāʾif al-ishārāt* II.174–75; Baydāwī 311.

10 A, 108: '*aḥabb ilayhim min*'; B, 318: '*aḥabb min*'.

11 Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-zuhd*', 1373, no. 4100.

12 A, 109: '*fa-qāla al-zāhid*'; B, 319: '*fa-qāla innamā al-zāhid*'.

13 Makkī I.32, 249.

14 A, 109: '*lam yataṣawwar*'; B, 319: '*lā yataṣawwar*'.

15 Q. XVI.96 and LXXXVII.17 respectively.

16 Q. IX.111. Qushayrī, *Laṭāʾif al-ishārāt* II.63–5; Baydāwī 268.

17 Q. IX.111.

18 Q. LXXXVII.17.

19 A, 110: '*baqiyā maʿahu*'; B, 320: '*baqiyā*'.

20 Q.IV.77

21 Q. XXVIII.80.

22 Makkī I.32, 253.

23 A, 110: '*tark wāḥid*'; B, 321: '*tark*'.

24 Q. XII.8.

25 A, 111: '*fa-tarak*'; missing in B. As Zabīdī explains, Joseph's brothers intended to throw Benjamin into the well with Joseph, before one of the brothers intervened (Zabīdī 321).

26 B, 322: '*wa-baghḍahā*' is missing in A.

27 A, 111: '*fa-lammā*'; B, 322: '*fa-idhā*'.

28 Cf. Zabīdī 322.

29 A, 111: '*ilā ibn al-ḥā'ik hādhā*'; B, 322: '*ilā hādhā ibn al-ḥā'ik*'.

30 ʿIrāqī 111.

31. Q. IV.66.

32 Q. III.152. Makkī I.32, 246.

33 A, 112: '*mimman lā yu'min bil-ākhira*'; B, 323: '*mimman lā ya'raf bil-ākhira*'.

34 Cf. Q. XLIV.54; LII.20; LVI.22. Cf. Winter 244-46.

35 Q. XLVI.20; B, 324: '*wa-istamtaʿtum bihā*', missing in A.

Chapter 11

1 Q. XXVIII.79–80.

2 A, 113: '*khayrun li-man āmana*'; B, 324: '*khayrun*'.

3 Q. XXVIII.54.

4 Q. XVIII.7.

5 Q. XLII.20.

6 Q. XX.131.

7 Q. XIV.3.

8 Makkī I.32, 243; Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-zuhd*', 1375, no. 4105.

9 Makkī I.32, 243; Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-zuhd*', 1373, no. 4101.

10 Q. II.269.

11 This is one of the descriptions of the *abdāl*—i.e., the successors of the prophets, being the *ṣādiqūn* and *shuhadā'* and those raised to the 'highest subtlety' (*al-rafīq al-aʿlā*) (Zabīdī 326). Makkī I.32, 243; Abū Nuʿaym V.189. While widely quoted and underlying in particular the Khalwatiyya Sufis' custom of seeking isolation for forty days, it is not considered authoritative.

12 A, 114: '*qulnā*'; B, 236: '*qilā*'.

13 Makkī I.32, 243; Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-zuhd*', 1409-1410, no. 4216.

14 Makkī I.32, 243; Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-zuhd*', 1373-1374, no. 4102.

15 Makkī I.32, 250.

16 Makkī I.32, 250; Kalābādhī, *al-Taʿarruf* 158.

17 A, 114: '*bada'a fī iẓhār*'; B, 227: '*bada'a iẓhār*'.

18 Q. VI.125.

19 A, 115: '*qāla*'; B, 327: '*fa-qāla*'.

20 Makkī I.32, 250.

21 Makkī I.32, 250-251.

22 Makkī I.32, 251.

23 Makkī I.32, 251.

24 Makkī I.32, 251.

25 Makkī I.32, 251.

26 Makkī I.32, 255.

27 Q. XX.113; Makkī I.32, 255.

28 A, 116: '*wa-lākinnī*'; B, 330: '*wa-lākin*'.

29 Q. XLVI.35.

30 ʿIrāqī 116; Gramlich 466.

31 A, 116: '*alyana*'; B, 230: '*layyina*'

32 A, 117: '*fa-qāla*'; B, 330: '*qāla*'.

33 A, 117: '*ilayhi yawman*'; B, 330: '*laylan*'.

34 A, 118: '*thiyābahu fa-ya'tihi bi-yaghsil*'; B, 331: '*qamīṣahu fa-yaghsil bi-yaghsil*'.

35 ʿIrāqī 118; Gramlich 467.

36 A, 118: "*ayshihimā*"; B, 331: "*ayyahā*". Cf. Zabīdī 331 for chain of transmission.

37 ʿIrāqī 118; Gramlich 467.

38 Cf. Q. XXVIII.23.

39 Q. IX.34.

40 A, 119: '*qulnā yā rasūl Allāh nahānā*'; B, 332: '*qulnā nahānā*'.

41 Makkī I.32, 255.

42 Makkī I.32, 256.

43 Makkī I.32, 256.

44 Makkī I.32, 256; Abū Nuʿaym VIII.145.

45 Makkī I.256.

46 Zabīdī 333.

47 A, 119: '*yā Jibrīl wa-lladhī*'; B, 333: '*wa-lladhī*'.

48 A, 120: '*usayyir*'; B, 333: '*usayyar*'.

49 A, 120: '*ūmi'a*'; B, 333: '*ūḥiya*'.

50 Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl min al-kāfī* II '*K. al-īmān wa'l-kufr*' (*Bāb dhamm al-dunyā wa'l-zuhd fihā*), 129, no.8; *al-Furūʿ min al-kāfī* VIII, '*K. al-rawḍa*', 131, no. 101; Gramlich 469.

51 ʿIrāqī 120.

52 A, 120: '*li-rajul*'; missing in B, 333.

53 Makkī I.32, 247; Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-zuhd*', 1373-1374, no. 4102.

54 Abū Nuʿaym I.72.

55 Abū Nuʿaym I.74.

56 A, 120: '*bi-taʿab*'; B, 334: '*bi-ʿajab*'.

57 Zabīdī 334.

58 A, 120: '*fī madh baghd*'; B, 334: '*fī baghḍ*'.

59 A, 120: '*li-ṣarf al-nāss*'; B, 334: '*li-ṣarf wujūh al-nāss*'.

60 A, 120: '*yas'alū*'; B, 334: '*yubālū*'.

61 A, 120: '*fa-idhā*'; B, 334: '*fa-innā*'

62 Makkī I.32, 243.

63 Makkī I.32, 243.

64 Makkī I.32, 243; cf. Abū Nuʿaym I.136.

65 Gramlich 470.

66 Abū Nuʿaym VII.52.

67 Zabīdī 335.

68 A, 121: '*dhabaḥūhā li-ajal an yantafiʿumūhā bi-jildihā*'; B, 335: '*qīla allā tantafiʿūhā bi-jildihā*'.

69 Abū Nuʿaym VIII.105-108; cf. Gramlich 471.

70 Zabīdī 335; Gramlich 471.

71 Zabīdī 336.

72 Makkī I.32, 250; Abū Nuʿaym VIII.34.

73 Makkī I.32, 265.

74 Makkī I.32, 266.

75 Zabīdī 336.

76 A, 122: '*akbar*'; B, 336: '*akthar*'.

77 Makkī I.32, 266.

78 Makkī I.32, 266.

79 Cf. Makkī I.32, 265.

Chapter 12

1 Cf. Makkī I.32, 251. This class is also referred to as 'beginners' (*mubtadi'ūn*) and contrasted with those who are 'confirmed' (*mutahaqqiqūn*) (Sarrāj, *al-Lumaʿ* 72).

2 A, 123: '*al-ṭā'āt*'; B, 237: '*al-ṭā'a*'.

3 A, 123: *'ilā al-istirāḥa'*; B, 237: *'al-istirāḥa'*.

4 A, 123: *'yazunn fī nafsihi'*; B, 337: *'yazunn'*.

5 Sarrāj, *al-Lumaʿ* 73.

6 Zabīdī 338.

7 Makkī 1.32, 269. The world is not a thing (Sarrāj, *al-Lumaʿ* 73).

8 A, 123: *'shaghalahu bi-nafsihi'*; B, 338: *'shaghalahu'*.

9 A, 124: *'fa-idhan lā yaltafitu al-zāhid ilā zuhdihi illā idhā iltafata ilā mā zahada fīhi wa-lā yaltafitu ilā mā zahada fīhi illā li-annahu yarāhu shay'an muʿtāddan bihi illā li-qusūr maʿfiratihi fa-sabbaba naqsān al-zuhd naqsān al-maʿrifa'*; this entire part is missing in B.

10 A, 124: *'aydan lahā'*; B, 339: *'lahā aydan'*.

11 A, 124: *'al-ahwāl'*; B, 339: *'al-ahwāl wa'l-shadā'id'*.

12 A, 124: *'idh fīhā anna al-rajul'*; B, 339: *'wa fī al-khabarān al-rajul'*.

13 Iraqī 124; Gramlich 475.

14 A, 124: *'fa-hādha zuhd al-khā'ifīn'*; B, 339: *'fa-hādha huwa azhad al-khā'ifīn'*.

15 A, 124: *'yakūn'*; B, 339: *'takūn'*.

16 A, 124: *'fī liqā'ihi'*; B, 339: *'liqā'ihi'*.

17 Zabīdī 339.

18 Zabīdī 339.

19 A, 125: *'naʿīm ahl al-janna'*; B, 340: *'naʿīm al-janna'*.

20 A, 125: *'ladhdhat al-istīlā'*; B, 340: *'ilā al-istīlā'*.

21 A, 125: *'bi-naql al-aqāwīl'*; B, 340: *'bi-naql tilka al-aqāwīl'*.

22 Q. III.14.

23 Q. LVII.20.

24 Q. XLVII.36.

25 Q. LXXIX.40-1.

26 A, 126: *'al-zuhd fihi'*; B, 241: *'al-zuhd minhu'*.

27 A, 126: *'innamā yurīdu'*; B, 341: *'yurīdu'*.

28 Q. IV.77.

29 Q. IV.77.

30 Q. LXI.4.

31 Q. IX.52.

32 Q. LXII.8.

33 Q. II.16. A, 127: *'ishtarū al-dalāla bil-hudā'*; B, 342: *'ishtarū al-hayāt al-dunyā'*.

34 This is a paraphrase of Q. IX.111: *God has purchased from the believers their persons and their goods, for theirs is Paradise.*

35 Cf. Makkī 1.32, 246.

36 A, 127: *'kull wāhid minhum'*; B, 343: *'kull wāḥid'*.

37 Makkī 1.32, 252.

38 Makkī 1.32, 252.

39 Makkī 1.32, 252.

40 Ar., *amal*. Makkī 1.32, 252.

41 A, 127: *'dhahaba al-zuhd ʿanhu'*; B, 343: *'dhahaba al-zuhd'*. Makkī 1.32, 252.

42 Makkī 1.32, 267; II.41, 194.

43 Cf. Sarrāj, *al-Lumaʿ* 24.

44 A, 127: *'luzūm al-sunna'*; B, 343: *'tarīq al-sunna'*. Makkī 1.32, 267.

45 A, 127: *'al-ishtighāl'*; B, 344: *'al-istiqlāl'*.

46 Makkī 1.32, 266.

47 Makkī 1.32, 267.

48 Cf. Kalābādhī, *al-Taʿarruf* 114.

49 A, 128: *'fa-qad wathaqa'*; B, 245: *'wathaqa'*.

50 A, 128: *'al-hāla al-rāhina'*; B, 345: *'al-hāja al-rāhina'*.

51 Makkī 1.32, 252; Abū Nuʿaym IX.352.

52 Makkī 1.32, 252.

53 Q. XXVI.89.

54 Makkī 1.32, 252.

55 A, 128: *'inqisām'*; B, 346: *'aqsām'*.

56 Makkī I:32, 266.

57 A, 128: *'al-amwāl al-zāhira'*; B, 347: *'al-umūr al-zāhira'*.

58 A, 129: *'maʿa mā taraktuhu'*; B, 347: *'fī mā taraktuhu'*. Makkī 1.32, 265.

59 A, 129: *'thaqaba'*; B, 347: *'aqaba'*.

60 Makkī 1.32, 265.

61 A, 129: *'an jalasa'* B, 347: *'ilā an'*. Makkī 1.32, 267.

62 Zabīdī 347.

63 Abū Nuʿaym VIII.238.

64 A, 129: *'al-zuhd'*; B, 348: *'al-zuhd huwa'*.

65 A, 130: *'bil-akl'*; B, 348: *'bi-akl dhālika'*.

66 A, 130: *'yastalidhdh al-sharb'*; B, 348: *'yataladhdhidh bi'l-sharb'*.

67 A, 130: *'al-iṭār'*; B, 348: *'al-ruṭb'*.

68 A, 130: *'makshūf'*; B, 348: *'maksūr'*.

69 Cf. Abū Nuʿaym VII.348-349.

Chapter 13

1 A, 130: *'ʿalā al-mashy'*; B, 349: *'alā rijlayh'*.

2 A, 130: *'al-iḥtirāz minhu'*; B, 349: *'al-iḥtirāz ʿanhu'*. Ghazālī is referring here to *Iḥyā'* X, *'K. al-jāh wa'l-riyā''*, 84-91.

3 Makkī 1.32, 270; Abū Nuʿaym VII.347.

4 A, 131: *'al-miskīn'*; B, 350: *'al-masākīn'*.

5 A, 131: *'mayyiza min'*; B, 350: *'mayyizat'*.

6 A, 131: *'ʿan ākhir abwāb'*; B, 350: *'min ākhir abwāb'*.

7 *Iḥyā'* VIII, *'K. kasr al-shahwatayn'*, 162-74.

8 A, 131: *'ilā aḥwāl'*; B, 350: *'fī aḥwāl'*.

9 Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, *'K. al-zuhd'*, 1388, no. 4145.

10 A, 132: *'ta'kulu'*; B, 351: *'ya'kulu'*. Makkī II.40, 183.

11 A, 132: *'ʿĪsā'*; B, 351: *'al-Masīḥ'*.

12 Zabīdī 351.

13 Zabīdī 351.

14 A, 132: *'ʿĪsā'*; B, 351: *'al-Masīḥ'*.

15 A, 132: *'wa'l-shurb fī rubʿ'*; B, 350: *'fī rubʿ'*.

16 Zabīdī 351.

17 Makkī 1.32, 256.

18 A, 133: *'darajatihi'*; B, 351: *'darājatihi'*.

19 Zabīdī 352; Gramlich 487.

20 A, 133: *'mutabadhdhil'*; B, 352: *'mubtadhil'*. Makkī 1.32, 258; cf. Zabīdī 352.

21 Cf. Zabīdī 352 for chain of transmission.

22 Makkī 1.32, 258; Abū Nuʿaym V.156.

23 Makkī 1.32, 258; Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, *'K. al-libās'*, 1193, no. 3608.

24 Zabīdī 353.

25 Zabīdī 353.

26 Makkī 1.32, 259.

27 Cf. Zabīdī 353.

28 Makkī 1.32, 259.

29 A, 134: *'akhlaqa'*; B, 354: *'khalaqa'*.

30 Makkī 1.32, 259.

31 Makkī 1.32, 259.

32 Makkī 1.32, 259.

33 Better known as Sahl b. Saʿd (ʿIrāqī 135).

34 ʿIrāqī 135.

35 A, 136: '*wabar al-ibl*'; B, 355: '*khamlat al-ibl*'.

36 Q. XCIII.5.

37 Makkī 1.32, 258.

38 Makkī 1.32, 259.

39 Q. III.31.

40 Makkī 1.32, 259.

41 Makkī 1.32, 258.

42 Abū Nuʿaym 1.83.

43 Makkī 1.32, 258.

44 Makkī 1.32, 258.

45 Makkī 1.32, 258.

46 Makkī 1.32, 258.

47 Makkī 1.32, 258–259.

48 Makkī 1.32, 260.

49 Makkī 1.32, 256.

50 Makkī 1.32, 256; Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-zuhd*', 1379, no. 4118. Abū Dāʾūd, *Sunan* IV, '*K. al-tarajjul*', 75, no. 4161.

51 Q. LV.76.

52 Makkī 1.32, 256.

53 Makkī 1.32, 256.

54 Makkī 1.32, 256-257.

55 Makkī 1.32, 257.

56 Makkī 1.32, 257.

57 Makkī 1.32, 257; Abū Nuʿaym 1.82-83.

58 A, 137: '*inna lil-lāh taʿālā ʿibādan*'; B, 358: '*allā anna ʿibādan lil-lāh*'. Makkī 1.32, 257.

59 Makkī 1.32, 257; Abū Dāʾūd, *Sunan* IV, '*K. al-tarajjul*' 75, no. 4160.

60 Makkī 1.32, 257.

61 Makkī 1.32, 257.

62 Makkī 1.32, 257; Abū Dāʾūd, *Sunan* IV, no. 4031.

63 A, 138: '*fi al-kalām*'; B, 359: '*bi'l-kalām*'. Makkī 1.32, 257.

64 Abū Dāʾūd, *Sunan* IV, 59, no. 4093; Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-libās*', 1183, no. 3573.

65 Gramlich 494.

66 Zabīdī 259.

67 A, 138: '*lā yaʾtī ʿaleyhi*'; B, 360: '*lā yaʾtī ilayhi*'.

68 Abū Nuʿaym V.291.

69 Abū Nuʿaym VIII.273.

70 A, 139: '*waḍʿan*'; B, 361: '*mawḍiʿan*'.

71 A, 139: '*lam yakun*'; B, 361: '*lā takun*'.

72 A, 139: '*al-aʿyun wa-lladhī*'; B, 361: '*al-aʿyun waʾl-ayādī*'.

73 Makkī 1.32, 260.

74 Makkī 1.32, 260.

75 Cf. Makkī 1.32, 260.

76 A, 140: '*taghayyur*' B, 361: '*taghyīr*'.

77 Makkī 1.32, 260; Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-zuhd*', 1393, no. 4161; Abū Dāʾūd, *Sunan* IV, '*K. al-adab*', 360, no. 5237.

78 ʿIrāqī 140; Gramlich 496.

79 ʿIrāqī 140; Gramlich 496.

80 Abū Dāʾūd, *Sunan* IV, '*K. al-adab*', 360, no. 5236; Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-zuhd*', 1393, no. 4160.

81 Zabīdī points out that 'Muḥayriz' (ʿIrāqī 140) is wrong and suggests in its stead 'Muhriz'—i.e., Ṣafwān b. Ziyād al-Māzanī al-Basri (Zabīdī 362).

82 Makkī 1.32, 260.

83 A, 141: '*liʾl-ʿabd*'; B, 362: '*li-ʿabd*'. Makkī 1.32, 260; Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-zuhd*', 1394, no. 4163.

84 Q. XXVIII.83. Cf. Qushayrī, *Laṭāʾif al-ishārāt* III.82-3.

85 Makkī 1.32, 261; Abū Dāʾūd, *Sunan* IV, '*K. al-adab*', 360, no. 5237.

86 Makkī 1.32, 261.

87 Q. XXVIII.38.

88 Makkī 1.32, 260.

89 Makkī 1.32, 260.

90 Makkī 1.32, 260.

91 Makkī 1.32, 260.

92 A, 142: '*al-binā fawq*'; B, 363: '*al-bunyān fawq*'. Makkī 1.32, 260.

93 A, 142: '*shayyadū*'; B, 363: '*shayyadūlu*'. Makkī 1.32, 260.

94 Zabīdī 363.

95 Zabīdī 363.

96 A, 142: '*wa-ʿalā mustafā idh*'; missing in B, 363.

97 A, 142: '*fa-huwa*'; B, 363: '*fa-innahu*'.

98 A, 142: '*fi maqāsid*'; B, 364: '*wa-aʿlāhu*'.

99 A, 142: '*wa-aʿlāhā*'; B, 364: '*wa-aʿlāhu*'.

100 ʿIrāqī 142; Gramlich 499.

101 ʿIrāqī 142-43.

102 A, 143: '*yā ʿUmar annna lahumā*'; B, 364: '*anna lahum*'. Gramlich 499.

103 A, 143: '*budd min*'; 363: '*budd laka min*'.

104 Zabīdī 364.

105 A, 143: '*ahmalu fihi*'; B, 365: '*ahmalu fihā*'.

106 A, 143: '*wa-ṭuhūrī*' B, 365: '*wa-wuḍūʾī*'.

107 Abū Nuʿaym 1.247-248.

108 Makkī 1.32, 258; Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-aṭʿima*', 1115, no. 3360; Abū Dāʾūd, *Sunan* III, '*K. al-aṭʿima*', 344, no. 3755.

109 Makkī 1.32, 259; Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-libās*', 1204, no. 3653 (variant).

110 Makkī 1.32, 259.

111 A, 144: '*khamsa aw sitta*'; B, 366: '*sitta aw khamsa*'.

112 Makkī 1.32, 259.

113 Makkī 1.32, 265.

114 A, 144: '*fihima*'; B, 366: '*fihā*'. For the prophetic report, cf. Gramlich 501.

115 A, 145: '*wa-wāfiqhu ʿalā hādhā al-qawl*'; B, 366: '*wa-wāfiqhu*'.

116 Makkī 1.32, 267.

117 A, 145: '*min māl wa-walad*'; B, 366: '*min māl*'.

118 A, 145: '*wa-in lam yakun*'; B, 367: '*wa-in lam takun*'.

119 A, 145: '*fī tarkihi wa-lā fiʿlihi*'; B, 367: '*fī fiʿlihi wa-lā tarkihi*'.

120 Makkī 1.32, 267.

121 Makkī 1.32, 267.

122 A, 146: '*yatamādā bihi*'; B, 368: '*yatamādā*'.

123 A, 146: '*ḍurr*'; B, 368: '*ḍarar*'.

124 A, 146: '*ḍurr*'; B, 368: '*ḍarar*'.

125 A, 146: '*maḥall*'; B, 368: '*bi-maḥall*'.

126 A, 146: '*bihi ʿanhu alladhī*'; B, 368: "*anhu bihi alladhī*'.

127 A, 147: '*al-zuhd*'; B, 369: '*zāhid*'.

128 A, 147: '*kharaja min*'; B, 369: '*kharaja ʿan*'.

129 A, 147: '*muqtaṣir*'; B, 369: '*muqaṣṣir*'.

130 A, 147: '*ḍarar*'; B, 369: '*ḍurr*'.

131 Makkī 1.32, 245.

132 A, 148: '*yakhbur*'; B, 370: '*yakhtabir*'.

133 A, 148: '*fa-ya'kulūnahu wa-rubbamā yakūnūn aᶜdā' lahu wa-qad yastaᶜīnūn bihi ᶜalā* '; B, 370: '*fa-ya'kulūnahu wa-hum aᶜdā'uhu wa-rubbamā yastaᶜīnūn bihi ᶜalā*'.

134 A, 148: '*wa-li-dhālika shabaha*'; B, 370: '*wa-kadhālika yashbahu*'. Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl min al-kāfī* II, '*K. al-īmān wa'l-kufr*' (*Bāb dhamm al-dunyā wa'l-zuhd fihā*), 134, no. 20.

135 A, 148: '*ᶜalā nafsihi hayyan*'; B, 370: '*hattā yaqtuluhā*'.

136 A, 148: '*khaṭara lahu*'; B, 370: '*faṭana lahu*'.

137 A, 148: '*fa-qaṣada al-khurūj*'; B, 370: '*bi-qaṣad al-khurūj*'.

138 A, 148: '*kāda an yakūn* '; B, 370: '*kāda yakūn*'.

139 Q. LXXXIII.15-16.

140 A, 148: '*yuqarrir*'; B, 371: '*yaqdhif*'.

141 Cf. Zabīdī 371.

142 Gramlich 505.

143 Makkī I.32, 255.

144 Q. X.7.

145 Q. XVIII.28.

146 Q. LIII.29-30.

147 Makkī I.32, 256.

148 Makkī I.32, 262.

Chapter 14

1 Makkī I.32, 260.

2 Q. LVII.23.

3 Makkī I.32, 280; Abū Nuᶜaym X.136.

4 A, 151: '*wa-dhālika li-ghalabat al-uns*'; B, 374: '*wa-dhālika li-ghalabat al-uns*'.

5 Qushayrī, *Risāla* 94.

6 Qushayrī, *Risāla* 94.

7 Qushayrī, *Risāla* 94.

8 A, 151: '*ᶜalāmatuhu*'; B, 375: '*ᶜalāmat al-zuhd*'.

9 Qushayrī, *Risāla* 94.

10 Qushayrī, *Risāla* 94.

11 B, 375: '*innamā huwa*'; missing in A. Qushayrī, *Risāla* 94.

12 Qushayrī, *Risāla* 95.

13 Cf. Ibn Māja, *Sunan* II, '*K. al-zuhd*', 1378, no. 4114.

14 Qushayrī, *Risāla* 95.

15 Qushayrī, *Risāla* 95.

16 Qushayrī, *Risāla* 95-6.

17 Qushayrī, *Risāla* 96.

18 Qushayrī, *Risāla* 96.

19 Qushayrī, *Risāla* 96.

APPENDIX

PERSONS CITED IN TEXT — EXCLUDING PROPHETS

AL-ᶜABBĀS B. ᶜABD AL-MUṬṬALIB (d. *ca* 33/653). The Prophet's uncle, from whom the Abbāsides claimed descent. (Nabhānī 1:147)

ᶜABD ALLĀH B. AL-ᶜABBĀS (d. 68/687). A cousin of the Prophet known particularly for his love of knowledge but also for his systematic approach to learning. He searched constantly for Companions with recollections of the Prophet's sayings. (Ibn Ḥanbal, *K. al-zuhd* 129-32; Azamī 40-3)

ᶜABD ALLĀH B. ᶜAMR B. AL-ᶜĀṢ (d. 27/63). A Companion of the Prophet who embraced Islam before his father, ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜĀṣ, and fled to Medina. There, he recorded what he heard from the Prophet but only after receiving permission from him. He was said to be knowledgeable in the sacred books of *ahl al-kitāb* and to have known Hebrew (probably for the study of surviving Israelite folklore). (Abū Nuᶜaym 1:283; Azami 43)

ᶜABD ALLĀH B. MASᶜŪD—See IBN MASᶜŪD.

ᶜABD ALLĀH B. SHUBRUMA, AL-QĀḌĪ AL-KŪFĪ (d. 144/761). A jurist and traditionist from Kufa who transmitted from Anas b. Mālik and other figures (Bukhārī, *al-Tā'rīkh al-ṣaghīr* V:117; Azami 110)

ᶜABD ALLĀH B. ᶜUMAR B. AL-KHAṬṬĀB (d. 73/693). Still young when the Prophet was alive, ᶜAbd Allāh nevertheless transmitted a large number of traditions from the Prophet. He remained aloof of political intrigues, although he is known to have rebuked al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf (d. 714), governor and Caliph ᶜAbd al-Malik's lieutenant, before a large crowd. His moral strength earned him a reputation for fearlessness. (Abū Nuᶜaym 1:292-314; Azami 45)

ABŪ BAKR AL-ṢIDDĪQ (d. 13/634). The first caliph (*r.* 11/632-13/634) and close early Companion of the Prophet. From Mecca he fled with the Prophet to Medina, where he became a pillar for the nascent Muslim community. Sufis tend to associate him with the contemplative life. (Ibn Ḥanbal, *K. al-zuhd* 13-9; Nabhānī 1:127-28; Hujwīrī 97-9)

ABŪ AL-DARDĀ' AL-KHAZRAJĪ (d. 32/652). A well-respected authority

on the law whom ʿUmar once dispatched as a teacher with Ibn Masʿūd to Kufa and Damascus. As an ascetic he advocated meditation and privileged the fear of God to mechanical rituals. He taught that a person obtained nothing from God before renouncing the world. (Ibn Ḥanbal, *K. al-zuhd* 55-65)

ABŪ DHARR AL-GHIFĀRĪ (d. 32/652). One of the first to enter Islam, Abū Dharr transmitted numerous traditions incorporated in the collections of Bukhārī and Muslim, many of them on poverty. For later generations, he stood as the prototype of the *faqīr*. (Ibn Ḥanbal, *K. al-zuhd* 77-9; Abū Nuʿaym 1:156)

ABŪ HURAYRA, ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-DAWSĪ (d. 59/677). Transmitted the largest number of traditions. He joined the Prophet at Khaybar and accompanied him for three or four years. Some authors, notably Abū Rayya, alleged that he later favoured the Umayyads. Abū Hurayra lived mostly in Medina, where he died. (Abū Nuʿaym 1:376-85; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, no. 2997; Azami 35-8)

ABŪ RĀFIʿ AL-QIBṬĪ (d. before 40/660). The Prophet's *mawlā*. His traditions were transmitted through ʿAbd Allāh b. Abbās and others. (Zabīdī 275; Azami 39)

ABŪ SAḤMĀ'—A Jewish notable at the time of the Prophet. (Zabidi 275)

ʿĀ'ISHA (d. 57/676). Daughter of Abū Bakr and wife of the Prophet. She transmitted a good many utterances by the Prophet.

ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB (d. 40/660). A cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet. He accepted reluctantly to be the fourth caliph after ʿUthmān's assassination (and was later named *Imām* by Muslims of the Shīʿa tradition). Sufis revere him for his breadth of knowledge, piety and ascetic mien. (Ibn Ḥanbal, *K. al-zuhd* 47-52; Hujwīrī 101-02)

ʿĀMIR B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. AL-QAYS (d. 60/679). He was of the *tābiʿūn* generation, known especially for his austerity and certain unusual deeds. (Abū Nuʿaym II:87-95; Bukhārī *Tarīkh* VI:447; Nabhānī II:136-7)

ʿAMMĀR B. YĀSIR B. ʿĀMIR B. MALIK AL-ʿUNSĪ (d. 37/657). A famous Companion who transmitted some traditions used in Abū Dā'ūd's collection. He was finally killed at the Battle of Siffīn. (Ibn al-Mubārak 1186)

ANAS B. MĀLIK (d. 91/709). Anas was a young boy when the Prophet came to Medina. He transmitted a large number of traditions to his many students, some of whom used them for their own collections. (Nabhānī 1:130; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb* no. 277; Azami 49)

AL-AWZĀʿĪ, ABŪ ʿAMR ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN (d. 157/774). The Syrian

leader of a now extinct legal school. He was regarded as the greatest authority of his generation, being a man of prodigious knowledge who began issuing fatwas at a very young age. (Makdisi 149).

BILĀL B. RABĀH (d. 17/638). Islam's first muezzin in Medina. Born into slavery in Mecca. Said to be the second adult convert to Islam, he was tortured by his master for his faith. Abū Bakr subsequently purchased him in order to free him. He died in Syria. (Winter 289)

BISHR B. AL-ḤĀRITH AL-ḤĀFĪ (d. 227/841). A companion of al-Fudayl b. ʿIyāḍ, Bishr 'the Barefooted' (because he considered even shoes 'a veil from God') was knowledgeable in the religious sciences. He taught that whoever wished to be honoured in this world and praised in the next must forgo three things: asking from others, vilifying others and accepting an invitation for a meal—since God alone, not the host, is the benefactor. (Abū Nuʿaym VIII:336; Sulamī 39-47; Jāmī 48-9; Nabhānī 1:607-08; Hujwīrī 135-6)

BISHR B. MARWĀN B. AL-ḤAKAM. Son of the Umayyad Caliph Marwān b. al-Ḥakam (d. 64/684) and governor.

AL-BISṬĀMĪ, ABŪ YAZĪD (d. 260/874). A remarkable personality in Islamic Sufism, Abū Yazīd expressed his brand of mysticism in paradoxical phrases about God and mystical love. He disdained any jurist who applied the law in rigid or blind fashion. (Abū Nuʿaym X:33-42; Jāmī 56-7; Hujwīrī 136-38)

AL-DAḤḤĀK B. MUZĀḤIM AL-HILĀLĪ AL-BALKHĪ (d. 105/723). A respected traditionist from Balkh whom Bukhārī used as a source. He met at least one Companion of the Prophet and is reputed to have written a commentary on the Qur'ān. (Azami 64; Winter 290)

AL-DĀRĀNĪ, ABŪ SULAYMĀN (d. 205/820). Though hailing from Wāsiṭ, Abū Sulaymān was an early influential exponent of Sufism in Syria. He later travelled to Dārāyā (on the outskirts of Damascus), from which his name is derived. Islamic biographers placed his death at 215/830. He is mentioned as having accepted *hadīths* from the celebrated traditionist and ascetic Sufyān al-Thawrī. Abū Sulaymān taught Ibn Abī al-Ḥawārī and together they consolidated Basran Sufism in Syria. (Sulamī 76; Qushayrī 25; Ibn al-Mulaqqin 386-97; Jāmī 39-40, 65; Nabhānī II:144; Hujwīrī 143-44; Dhahabī 1:203-07)

DĀ'ŪD AL-ṬĀ'Ī (d. 160/776). A Kufan contemporary of Ibrāhīm b. Adham and a pupil of Abū Ḥanīfa in jurisprudence and Ḥabīb al-Rāʿī in Sufism. Although learned, he reputedly either buried his books or threw them into the Euphrates. His brand of asceticism took the form of grief and absence of gregariousness. (Abū Nuʿaym VII:335-66; Hujwīrī 140-1; ʿAṭṭār 138-42; Azami 126)

DHŪ AL-NŪN AL-MIṢRĪ (d. 246/861). Born at Akhmim in Upper Egypt. He was renowned for his alchemist and mystical predilections, and was thought to understand Egyptian hieroglyphs. At one time, he was arrested on charges of heresy but quickly released. (Abū Nuʿaym IX:331-95; Sulamī 15-26; cf. Ibn ʿArabī, *La vie merveilleuse*)

AL-FUḌAYL B. ʿIYĀḌ (d. 187/803). A native of Merv, Ibn ʿIyād had a great reputation as a mystic and is frequently cited in Sufi works. He steadfastly avoided the wealthy, abstaining from everything that may be tinged with worldliness. (Abū Nuʿaym VIII:84; Sulamī 6-14; Jāmī 37-8; Nabhānī II:440)

AL-ḤASAN AL-BAṢRĪ (d. 110/728). One of the most outstanding intellectual figures in early *kalām*, al-Ḥasan participated in the major political and philosophical debates of his time, but was especially respected for the ascetic life he led. (Abū Nuʿaym II:131-61; Nabhānī II:21; Hujwīrī 115-16; Watt 64, 103-4ff)

AL-ḤAWĀRĪ, ABŪ AL-ḤASAN AḤMAD (d. 230/830). An early Damascene Sufi and disciple of Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī. His brother and son were also respected for their ascetic devotion. (Jāmī 65-6; Ibn al-Mulaqqin 31-6; Qushayrī, *Risāla* 28; Zabīdī 374; Hujwīrī 149-50)

IBN ASBĀṬ, YŪSUF (d. 190/805). A leading ascetic who transmitted traditions from Sufyān al-Thawrī. (Abū Nuʿaym VIII:237)

IBN ASLAM AL-ṬŪSĪ, ZAYD AL-ʿADAWĪ (d. 136/753). A *mawlā* of Ibn ʿUmar and traditionist who transmitted from Abū Hurayra and ʿĀʾisha, among others. (Azami 106)

IBN ʿAṬĀʾ, ABŪ AL-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD (d. 309/921). A great Sufi who was especially knowledgeable in the Qurʾān. He was highly praised by Abū Saʿīd al-Kharrāz. (Abū Nuʿaym X:302; Sulamī 265-72; Zabīdī 285)

IBN ʿAWF AL-QURASHĪ, ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN (d. 31/652). Fled persecution with the early Muslims twice and took part in the Battle of Badr. He was also known for his cleverness in business. (Zabīdī 280).

IBN DĪNĀR, ABŪ YAḤYĀ MĀLIK (d. 131/748-49). A well-known learned figure and ascetic from Basra who earned his living as a copyist of the Qurʾān; he was particularly interested in the Qurʾān's variant readings. His sayings, which had a distinctly moralistic flavour, wedded sincerity to action. (Abū Nuʿaym II:357-89; Ibn al-Mulaqqin 386-97; Hujwīrī 118-19; ʿAṭṭār 26-31; Pellat 99)

IBN DĪNĀR AL-JUMAḤĪ AL-MAKKĪ, ʿAMR (d. 126/743). Wrote down traditions from Ibn ʿAbbās but disapproved of students who wrote down his opinions. (Abū Nuʿaym III:347-54; Zabīdī 363; Azami 79)

Appendix

IBN KHAFĪF AL-SHĪRĀZĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH (d. 371/981). According to Zabīdī, he headed the Bakriyya *ṭarīqa* in his time. Although born into royalty, he later abandoned that life to be an ascetic and to accompany some famous mystics. He taught that one had to turn away from one's 'created nature', which was corrupt and acted as a veil. (Abū Nuʿaym X:385; Sulamī 462-6; Hujwīrī 190-1; Zabīdī 375)

IBN AL-MUSAYYIB, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD SAʿĪD (d. 93/711). One of the most learned scholars of the second generation. A pious figure, Ibn al-Musayyib used to give himself the appearance of a religious 'hypocrite', a practice approved and praised by many Sufīs. (Abū Nuʿaym II:161-76; al-Nabhānī I:149; Hujwīrī 116)

IBN MASʿŪD, ʿABD ALLĀH (d. 32/652). A transmitter of traditions, Ibn Masʿūd was nevertheless adamantly opposed to writing them down. He was reputed to have erased one of his own books. (Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istiʿāb*, no. 994; Ibn Hanbal, *K. al-zuhd* 103-11; Azami 44-5)

IBN WĀSIʿ AL-BAṢRĪ AL-AZDĪ, MUḤAMMAD (d. *ca* 125/742-3). He knew many Companions of the Prophet and is reputed to have said, 'I have never seen anything without seeing God there.' Another saying attributed to him is, 'He who abstains from the world shall possess both the world and the Hereafter.' (Hujwīrī 121; Pellat 100)

IBRĀHĪM B. ADHAM (d. 162/778). His father was governor of Balkh. After abandoning worldliness, he travelled to Mecca where he became a companion of Sufyān al-Thawrī and al-Fuḍayl b. ʿIyād. (Abū Nuʿaym V:318; Sulamī 27-38; Jāmi 41-3; Zabīdī 283)

IBRĀHĪM B. YAZĪD AL-TAYMĪ (d. 92/710). Followed an austere form of spiritual discipline. Al-Ḥajjāj imprisoned him and had him killed when he was not yet forty. (Nabhānī I:384-5)

ʿIMRĀN AL-ḤUSAYN (before 10/631). Transmitted traditions from the Prophet that are included in Tirmidhī's and Muslim's collections. (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Kitāb al-zuhd* 83-4)

JĀBIR B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-SALAMĪ AL-ANṢĀRĪ (after 70/689). Died in Medina after numerous military exploits on the frontiers of Islam. (Ibn al-Mubārak 1102)

AL-JUNAYD, ABŪ AL-QĀSIM (d. 298/910-11). One of the most influential figures in early Sufism, he traced his roots to Nahavand, the royal capital of the ancient Sassanians. He learned from al-Sarī al-Saqaṭī and al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (Abū Nuʿaym X:255; al-Sulamī 155-63)

KAʿB AL-AḤBĀR B. MĀNIʿ AL-ḤIMYARĪ (d. 32/652/3). A Yemeni Jewish scholar, Kaʿb embraced Islam after the death of the Prophet. When ʿUmar was caliph, he travelled to Medina, where he met many Companions.

KHABBĀB B. AL-ARATT. Born before Islam, he was at the Battle of Badr (Ibn al-Mubārak 1116)

KHĀLID B. WALĪD (d. 21/641). A skilful fighter before embracing Islam, Khālid distinguished himself first at the Battle of Uḥud and later in the Islamic conquests.

AL-KHAWWĀṢ, ABŪ ISḤĀQ IBRĀHĪM (d. 285/898 or 292/904). Associated with Junayd's circle. Famed for his piety and spiritual discipline, he used to wander the deserts without provisions, relying solely on what was granted him by God. (Abū Nuʿaym x:325; Jāmī 136-9; Zabīdī 285, 372)

AL-KHUDRĪ, ABŪ SAʿĪD AL-KHAZRAJĪ (d. 64/683 or 74/693). A Companion of the Prophet who related many stories about the Prophet and fellow Companions. He is the principal transmitter of a saying of the Prophet forbidding the writing down of traditions. Although opposed to the practice when it appeared, he later changed his position. (Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istiʿāb* no. 2997; Azami 39)

AL-KHURĀSĀNĪ, ABŪ ʿUTHMĀN ʿAṬĀ B. ABĪ SULAYM (d. 135/752). A traditionist whom Bukhārī used for his collection and who wrote a commentary on the Qurʾān. (Zabīdī 276; Gramlich 409; Azmi 80)

MASRŪQ B. AL-AJDAʿ AL-HAMDHĀNĪ (d. 63/682/3). A respected traditionist from Kufa who fought for ʿAlī against the Khārijīs. It is said that he was 'stolen' as a young boy and later found; hence, the name Masrūq. (Azmi 56; Winter 300-1)

MUʿĀWIYA B. ABĪ SUFYĀN (d. 60/661). Son of Abū Sufyān (the former leader of the Quraysh), Muʿāwiya was a governor of Syria and later proclaimed Caliph at Jerusalem (*r.* 40-60/661-80). He related one tradition from the Prophet and was said to have literary tastes. (Azami 53-4)

AL-MUGHĪRA B. ḤABĪB. Several people went by the name al-Mughīra. The one Ghazālī mentions a few times in the present work is probably al-Mughīra b. Ḥabīb, not al-Mughīra b. Shuʿbah (d. 50/670), governor of Kufa under Muʿāwiya and writer of traditions. Abū Nuʿaym describes al-Mughīrag b. Ḥabīb as the inseparable companion of his father-in-law Mālik b. Dīnār (Ibn Nuʿaym VI:248).

Appendix

AL-MURRĪ, ABŪ ZAKARIYĀ YAḤYĀ B. MAʿĪN B. ʿAWN. A respected collector and transmitter of traditions. (Azami 111)

NAṢRĀBĀDHĪ, ABŪ AL-QĀSIM IBRĀHĪM (d. 367/977). A leading Sufi of Khurāsān, born in Nishapur. Knowledgeable in several fields, especially biography and history. He knew Abū Bakr al-Shiblī and other great masters of Sufism. (Sulamī 484-88; Jāmī 230; Zabīdī 375)

AL-NŪRĪ, ABŪ AL-ḤASAN AḤMAD (d. 295/907). An early figure in Sufism, Nūrī served as a model for many aspiring ascetics. His school figures among the ten branches of Sufism that Hujwīrī considered legitimate. He was a disciple of Sarī al-Saqaṭī and a companion of Junayd, who founded another, much more influential branch. Sufism, he used to say, 'is neither text nor science, but ethics (*akhlāq*).' (Abū Nuʿaym x:249; Sulamī 164-9; Jāmī 78-83; Hujwīrī 162-35)

RĀFIʿ B. KHADĪJ B. RĀFIʿ B. ʿADĪ AL-ANṢĀRĪ AL-AWSĪ (d. 74/693). A Companion of the Prophet at Medina, Rāfiʿ put into writing an utterance by the Prophet about the sanctuary of that city. (Azami 54)

ṢAFWĀN B. MUḤRIZ B. ZIYĀD AL-MĀZANĪ AL-BAṢRĪ. A sound transmitter of traditions. (Ibn Mubārak 1147; Zabīdī 362)

SALMĀN AL-FĀRISĪ (d. *ca.* 32/652). A close Companion of the Prophet. Salmān was of Persian origin (probably from Isfahan) and was highly respected for his courage, asceticism and knowledge. Legends about him abound. He wrote down some traditions, which he sent to Abū al-Dardā'. (Abū Nuʿaym I:185-208; Ibn Ḥanbal, *K. al-zuhd* 87-91; Nabhānī I:143; Azami 55)

AL-SAQAṬĪ, AL-SARĪ (d. 251/865). The maternal uncle and teacher of Junayd, Sarī was the acknowledged leader in the Baghdadi Sufi milieu. He classified the spiritual 'states' (*aḥwāl*) and spoke about the unicity of God. His musings, however, earned him the criticism of Ibn Ḥanbal, especially on sensitive issues relating to theology. (Abū Nuʿaym x:116-26; Sulamī 48-55; Jāmī 53-4; Hujwīrī 141-2; ʿAṭṭār 166-72)

SHAQĪQ AL-BALKHĪ (d. 194/809). A famous Sufi master from Khurāsān and the best known follower of Ibrāhīm b. Adham, whose companion he was. He was one of the first to speak about spiritual states (*aḥwāl*) and 'reliance on God' (*tawakkul*) as a state. A person of broad learning, covering practically every branch of religious science, he died in *jihād*. (Abū Nuʿaym VIII:58; Sulamī 61-6; Jāmī 49-50; Hujwīrī 142-3, ʿAttār 133-7)

SUFYĀN AL-THAWRĪ (d. *ca.* 161/778). A celebrated traditionists, ascetic and jurist, al-Thawrī was extraordinarily knowledgeable in the scriptural sources of

Islam, and sometimes rated higher than even Mālik b. Anas. He was one of the first to commit prophetic traditions to writing. He was also actively engaged in many theological debates and founded a legal school, now extinct. Often harassed by powerful figures, he was forced to flee several times. (Abū Nuʿaym VI:356-VII:143; Dhahabī, *Tadhkīrāt* 203-05; Nabhānī 98)

SUFYĀN B. AL-ʿUYAYNA AL-HILĀLĪ, ABŪ MUHAMMAD (d. 198/813). As a young man he began by writing traditions from Zuhrī (d. 124/741). By the end of his life, he had gathered some seven thousand traditions, which he transmitted to others, since he wrote no collection of his own. (Azami 91, 169-70)

ṢUHAYB B. SINĀN (d. 38/659). Captured by the Byzantines before the advent of Islam and sold in Mecca, where he was soon persecuted for his new faith as a Muslim. He finally fled to Medina, along with many early Muslims. (Abū Nuʿaym I:151-6; Winter 310)

AL-TUSTARĪ, SAHL (d. 282/896). Studied with Sufyān al-Thawrī and is said to have met Dhū'l-Nūn while on pilgrimage in Mecca. A commentary on the Qur'ān is attributed to him. His contributions to Sufism were both practical and theoretical, which included his theory of revealed light. He had a reputation for strict spiritual exercises. (Abū Nuʿaym I:189; Sulamī 206-11; Jāmī 66-8; Nabhānī II:110)

ʿUBAYD B. ʿUMAYR B. QATĀDA ABŪ ʿĀṢIM. Born while the Prophet was still alive. (Ibn Mubaʿrak 1175)

ʿUMAR B. ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ (d. 110/728). ʿUmar II became caliph in 99/717. Although his reign lasted only two-and-a-half years, he had a deep impact on the people he ruled. He is considered far more pious and just than most of his Umayyad predecessors. His active, though relatively non-sectarian, policies won him broad support from Muslims, including the hitherto marginalised sects. (Ṣafadī III:133)

ʿUMAR IBN AL-KHAṬṬĀB (d. 23/643). The Companion of the Prophet and second caliph. Distinguished himself for his good counsel. His words were faithfully recorded and transmitted by Sufis. (Abū Nuʿaym I:38; Ibn Hanbal, *K. al-zuhd* 23-35; Nabhānī I:156-8; Hujwīrī 99-100)

UWAYS AL-QARANĪ (d. 37/657). Although Uways lived while the Prophet was alive, his obligations to his mother, it is said, prevented him from meeting the Prophet. He travelled to Kufa and was finally killed at Ṣiffīn. To many Sufis, the story of the Prophet's acquaintance with Uways despite their physical distance indicated a particular kind of mystical perception. (Abū Nuʿaym II:79-87; Nabhānī 602-3; Hujwīrī 112-3)

WAHB B. MUNABBIH (d. 114/732). A traditionist from Sanʿā who compiled many books on the lives of the prophets, some portions of which are preserved in Ṭabarānī's *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*. (Abū Nuʿaym IV:23-82; Azami 104-5)

YAḤYĀ B. MUʿĀDH AL-RĀZĪ (d. 258/871-2). The youngest of three brothers, all ascetics, Yaḥyā was known particularly for his teachings on hope (*rajā'*). Some works have been attributed to him but none survive. He died in Nishapur. (Abū Nuʿaym X:51-70; Sulamī 107-14; Jāmī 55-6; Hujwīrī 153-4)

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Al-Ghazālī on Poverty and Abstinence is the thirty-fourth chapter of the *Revival of the Religious Sciences* (Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn), which is widely regarded as the greatest work of Muslim spirituality. In *Al-Ghazālī on Poverty and Abstinence*, Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī considers two themes dear to Islamic devotional literature: poverty and abstinence. Taking as his example the Prophet's love for the poor, Ghazālī explains that poverty is not simply an accidental state of destitution that might befall anyone but rather an inner acceptance of the Will of God and a form of abstinence for His sake. Thus the life of poverty and abstinence described by Ghazālī in *Al-Ghazālī on Poverty and Abstinence* refers to what every devoted follower of the Prophet is meant to adopt whatever his or her outer state may be.

This volume also includes a translation of Imām Ghazālī's own Introduction to the *Revival of the Religious Sciences*, which gives the reasons that caused him to write the work, the structure of the whole of the *Revival* and which places each of the chapters in the context of the others.

Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (1058-1111), theologian, logician, jurist and mystic, was born and died in Ṭūs in Central Asia, but spent much of his life lecturing at Baghdad or leading the life of a wandering dervish. His most celebrated work, *Revival of the Religious Sciences*, has exercised a profound influence on Muslim intellectual history by exploring the mystical significance of the practices and beliefs of Islamic orthodoxy, earning him the title of *Hujjat al Islām*, the 'Proof of Islam'.

Dr. Anthony F. Shaker is the author of several studies including the only complete study of Ṣadr al-Dīn Qūnawī. He is also the translator of *Al-Ghazālī on Intention, Sincerity and Truthfulness* and *Al-Ghazālī on Vigilance and Self-Examination* in the Islamic Texts Society's al-Ghazālī Series.